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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
**BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION**

1901

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

1901



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ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS,
10 APPLETON STREET,
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION

AT THE

ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 17, 1901

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PROCEEDINGS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme on Monday, June 17, 1901. In the absence of the President, and all the Vice-Presidents, Hon. SOLOMON LINCOLN was chosen to preside.

Prayer was offered by Rev. HENRY F. JENKS, Minister of the First Congregational Parish in Canton.

The Records of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Address was then delivered by Mr. ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS, on What was known about Parliamentary Supremacy when Attempts were made to enforce the Stamp Act. Remarks were also made by Mr. ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE, and Rev. Dr. JOHN S. LINDSAY.

The thanks of the Association were voted to Mr. DAVIS for his interesting and valuable address.

The Treasurer, Mr. G. ARTHUR HILTON, presented his Annual Report in print,— together with the Report

of Messrs. JOHN NOBLE and S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE, auditors, and the certificate of Mr. WILLIAM H. HART, public accountant. Both Reports were accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

Mr. THOMAS G. FROTHINGHAM, in behalf of the Standing Committee, reported that the plans of the new Lodge on the Monument Grounds, together with contracts and specifications, had been completed, and that the work would be begun in a few days.

A communication was received from Mr. LOUIS REVERE LINCOLN offering, in behalf of himself and the members of his family, a bust of his father, the late Hon. FREDERIC WALKER LINCOLN, for many years a member and officer of the Association. The bust is a *replica* of one made by Robert Kraus for the family. The Secretary was directed to tender the grateful acknowledgments of the Association to the family of Mr. Lincoln for this acceptable gift.

The Association then elected as Associate Members the persons who had been recommended by the Standing Committee.

It was voted that the Standing Committee cause the Address of Mr. DAVIS, together with the Proceedings of the Meeting and other documents, to be printed and distributed in the usual manner.

Messrs. JAMES DE NORMANDIE, CHARLES M. GREEN, and HERBERT W. KIMBALL were appointed a Nominat-

ing Committee, and, on their recommendation, the officers named in the List on page 10 were elected by ballot.

Mr. GEORGE B. NEAL made some remarks concerning the condition of the grounds about the Monument.

The Secretary was directed to send the greetings of the Association to the President, now absent in Europe.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS.

President.

WINSLOW WARREN.

Vice-Presidents.

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio.*

JOHN COLLINS WARREN. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Treasurer.

GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON. FRANCIS HENRY BROWN.

Directors.

ARTHUR AMORY.	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL.
WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON.	JOHN LATHROP.
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER.	AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH.	CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE.
EDWARD BROOKS.	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE.	ARTHUR LINCOLN.
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.
URIEL HASKELL CROCKER.	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.	AUGUSTUS PEARL MARTIN.
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS.	WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN.
RICHARD DEVENS.	CHARLES MERRIAM.
FRANKLIN GORDON DEXTER.	GEORGE BENJAMIN NEAL.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.	JOHN NOBLE.
GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS.	GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
WILLIAM ENDICOTT.	LINZEE PRESCOTT.
WILLIAM EVERETT.	ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS.	STEPHEN SALISBURY.
THOMAS GODDARD FROTHINGHAM.	RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.	TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.	MOORFIELD STOREY.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
JOHN HOMANS.	HENRY WALKER.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.	LUCIUS HENRY WARREN.
JOHN CHESTER INCHES.	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH.
HENRY FITCH JENKS.	HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

ADDRESS
OF
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.

WHAT WAS KNOWN
ABOUT
PARLIAMENTARY SUPREMACY
WHEN ATTEMPTS WERE MADE TO ENFORCE
THE STAMP ACT.

"THE hour of the American Revolution," says Bancroft, writing of the spring of 1774, "was come. The people of the Continent with irresistible energy obeyed one general impulse, as the earth in the spring listens to the command of nature, and without the appearance of effort bursts forth to life in perfect harmony." These words, especially true of the people of Massachusetts Bay, over whose heads the punitive legislation was then impending which was finally to demonstrate the incapacity of Parliament to rule this people, find also their corroboration in the widespread offers of sympathy and assistance which were poured in upon the sufferers that summer from the citizens of the other colonies. However reluctant the majority of our own people may then have been to submit the decision of pending questions to the arbitrament of the sword, one event in the fall of that year fully disclosed the possibility, the probability even, of armed collision, and must have made thoughtful men tremble for the future. In September, Gage, as a matter of precaution, sent out an expedition to remove some powder belonging to the province which was stored in the little building not far from Tufts College, now known as the Somerville powder-house. The purpose of the expedition was, of course, hidden, and the de-

parture from Boston of the troops of which it was composed created much excitement. Emissaries were despatched to the neighboring towns warning the inhabitants of the unknown, impending mischief. The excited people rallied to the call, and gathered in large numbers the next morning upon Cambridge Common.

Meantime Gage had safely accomplished the removal of the powder without collision, and probably without knowledge of the consternation which this movement of his soldiers had aroused; but it may readily be conceived that if anything had happened to occasion delay in his movements, thus affording opportunity for a meeting between the troops and the excited crowds, September 2, 1774, would have usurped in our annals the importance which now attaches to April 19, 1775. Among the men who then responded to the call there were doubtless some who had to do with the thrilling events which startled the Colonies and the Kingdom in the succeeding April, and others who in the following June participated in the conflict across the Charles, in memory of which the shaft was reared, the care of which is intrusted to our hands.

We need no explanation of the prompt response of the men of the province to those calls to arms. The establishment of a military government in Boston and the closure of the port were steps which carried with them, inevitably, resistance by force, if long persisted in. The supposed necessity for this unwise action on the part of the royal government is easily traceable to the resistance to the revenue measures, which had successfully prevented the enforcement of the Stamp Act, had hampered the collection of the Townshend Taxes, and had by destroying the tea consigned to Boston settled the question whether any tax should be paid upon its being landed. While it is evident that no other frame of mind than that of hostility to the Crown was possible for those colonists who did not in the latter part of 1774, and in

1775, belong to the loyalist party, the testimony does not make equally clear the cause of the radical change of temper which led a people who had for so many years quietly endured the restrictive legislation through which Parliament sought to gain for England whatever there was of benefit from colonial intercourse, whether from navigation or from trade, into open defiance of the officers appointed under the Stamp Act and forcible resistance to tax laws.

The numerous Acts then upon the Statute Books of Great Britain, whose purpose was to benefit England, have been classified by Professor Ashley as Navigation Laws, Enumeration Laws, and Laws concerning Manufactures. Their mere recital, in the manner in which they are ordinarily described by our historians, seems to the reader to furnish abundant grounds for the existence of hostile feelings. As we read their narratives, influenced by the manner in which the facts are stated, we are not surprised at the resistance to the Stamp Act; we justify the agreements not to purchase British goods, and the judgment which we might otherwise pronounce upon the methods adopted to prevent the collection of the tea tax is greatly ameliorated. Yet the fact remains, as has been pointed out by Professor Ashley, that up to the time of these outbreaks there had been no serious complaint of the commercial restrictions imposed by the laws classified as above, and the suggestion has been made that the hostility to them was an after-thought.

It has been contended that the navigation laws were actually beneficial to the Colonies. They were originally directed against the Dutch, and their immediate effect was the encouragement of ship-building, an industry by which New England especially profited. It has also been argued that the restriction of the colonists to Great Britain as a market through which sales of exports and purchases of imports were to be effected was not oppressive in view of the draw-

back system which provided rebates of the duties on goods exported to the Continent. Manufactures were at that time in so feeble a condition in the Colonies that the restrictive legislation imposed upon them was not of vital importance unless the future should be taken into consideration. That there is foundation for these arguments cannot be denied. There was, however, still another factor in the question which tended to modify the restlessness of the colonists under the restraints imposed by this legislation, and that was that the laws were never fully enforced. In the days of the Colony Edward Randolph faithfully served the Privy Council in his attempts to secure the enforcement of the Navigation Act, but his failure was so conspicuous that the Privy Council said, "We are well satisfied that Edward Randolph has discharged his duty with all diligence and fidelity, yet because unlawful trading is countenanced by you, all his care has been of little effect." William Bollan, writing to the Board of Trade concerning illicit trade in 1743, says, "I write this clad in superfine French cloth, which I bought on purpose that I might wear about the evidence of these illegal traders having already begun to destroy the vital parts of the British Commerce." George Grenville, advocating the new system in 1765, says, "The whole remittance [of Collectors] from all the Colonies at an average of thirty years has not amounted to £1,900 a year." And again: "Such has been the disregard of all revenue laws in America that this has produced hardly anything, though the commodity has been imported all the time in great quantities." "Ships," he says, "are continually passing between our plantations and Holland, Hamburg and most of the Ports on the German Ocean and in the Baltic." "Foreign goods," he adds, "illegally run into the Colonies, amount in value to no less than £700,000 per annum, which exceeds by far the value of those foreign goods that are conveyed thither through Great Britain."

Under these circumstances it can be understood that the question of parliamentary supremacy was not during this period of vital importance to the colonists. If the restraint upon manufactures touched but a few people and its main consequences lay in the future, if the Navigation Act had been in some respects actually beneficial, and if the laws restricting commerce were in many cases of little importance and in other respects were openly evaded, the practical effect of the laws upon the people was not likely to create much political opposition to them.

During all of this time the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy was not, according to Hutchinson, questioned by any of the colonists. It was only when a new set of laws were enacted, in many respects much more reasonable than those already in force, that the power of Parliament was questioned. The query must often have forced itself upon students, Why, at this particular point, was there such an outbreak against the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy? And to many the narrow distinction between external and internal taxes which was raised in the discussions which then took place will hardly seem to account for it.

It must be borne in mind, in discussing the power to control the Colonies, that at the outset the jurisdiction of Parliament was an undecided question, concerning which there was nothing to aid either the colonists or Englishmen in its determination. The various companies of exploration and colonization were founded for purposes of commercial gain, and the thought that other interests might intervene than those of the shareholders was not conceived of. Parliamentary legislation was supreme within the realm, but the Colonies were not within the realm, and until Parliament distinctly asserted its claim to legislate for the Colonies, doubts must have existed as to the form of control which that body would ultimately assert. Our own General Court in 1678 expressed

its doubts upon that point in the following words: "We humbly conceive according to the usuall sayings of the learned in the lawe, that the lawes of England are bounded wthin the fower seas, and doe not reach America. The subjects of his maj^{ie} here being not represented in Parliament." This claim that the Colonies ought to be represented in Parliament if that body was to legislate for them, does not appear to have been further pressed, until it was revived by James Otis in 1764, but the right of Parliament to pass laws reaching to the Colonies was constantly maintained by that body, and so far as appears, it was acquiesced in by the colonists.

It is my purpose, in the time which remains at my disposal, to call your attention to certain events which occurred in Massachusetts not long before the passage of the Stamp Act, which left behind them feelings of bitter hostility towards Parliament on the part of a large part, perhaps a majority, of the people of the province, and which must have demonstrated, even to those who sympathized with the purpose which Parliament desired to accomplish, that no regard for the rights of the Colonists would restrain that body in its attempts to overthrow what it regarded as a public grievance. To a people possessing this experience, the doctrine of parliamentary supremacy had a widely different and far more important significance than would have been attributed to it by a people who had merely endured restrictive legislation inadequately enforced.

The circumstances which justify this comment as to lack of restraint on the part of Parliament were as follows: In 1690 the provisional government, which then had control of affairs, inaugurated the policy of emitting bills of public credit for the purpose of meeting the expenses of the government. These bills, when first emitted, were retired by the next succeeding tax; but as time went on the volume of the bills increased, the dates of the retirements were postponed for

several years, silver was driven from the market, and the province became absolutely dependent upon this paper money for a medium of trade. The bills, which were current for a time at par, soon began to feel the effects of the increasing volume of the emissions, and the discount once established constantly increased, thus calling at every succeeding emission for more bills to secure the same purchasing power to the government.

The Privy Council, from time to time, made ineffectual efforts to place some restraint upon these emissions. When Belcher assumed the reins of government, he was instructed to see that all bills were called in by 1742, and after that date not to permit more than £30,000 to be current at any one time. This amount was inadequate for the needs of the province, but Belcher was determined to carry out his instructions, and the Assembly believed that it was necessary to turn elsewhere for a medium of trade to supply the place of the silver which had fled and the bills of public credit which apparently were about to be suppressed. During the process of these emissions, suggestions had been made to the Assembly by private citizens that a better currency than the public bills could be furnished by a Society, which might be organized to emit bills secured by mortgages upon real estate. This proposition had been rejected by the Assembly, but driven to the wall by the firm attitude of the Privy Council and the apparent inflexibility of Belcher, the Assembly turned to this expedient as a possible solution of their troubles.

A resolve was passed in 1739 appointing a committee to receive during the interval between the sessions any plans that might be submitted by any persons whomsoever to furnish the province with a medium of trade. When the Assembly again met, a plan was submitted for the organization of a Land Bank. The company had no capital stock, and the subscribers paid in no money except a small assessment to meet

the expenses of organization, but each subscriber was to mortgage his real estate to the company and receive in return the bills of the company. These bills the subscribers agreed to take in trade between themselves, and the company in turn also agreed to receive them in satisfaction of the mortgage or in payment for any stock in trade. The bills ran for twenty years, and could then be redeemed in certain articles of produce specified in the scheme. The nominal amount which was proposed to be emitted was £150,000. Each bill was according to its tenor to circulate as lawful money at six shillings and eight pence an ounce. Silver was then worth a little over twenty-eight shillings an ounce, in old tenor, so that if the partners expected that their twenty-year bills payable in produce would circulate at par, they valued them at the rate of about one for four of the bills of public credit.

The subscribers, to the number of about four hundred, petitioned the Assembly for incorporation. It is not my purpose to follow in detail the contest which then took place. It is important, however, that certain of the more conspicuous events should be recapitulated in order that you may appreciate the extent of the political battle which then ensued. The Assembly, as it was then composed, was divided upon the subject, the House by a preponderant majority being in favor of the Land Bank, while the Governor and Council were opposed to it. The conflict was much intensified by the efforts of the Boston capitalists to ward off the evils which they saw impending. They effected the organization of a Bank, which should emit a currency based upon silver, the bills to run for fifteen years, and to be received in trade upon a sliding scale, starting at the current rate and appreciating each year by a small amount. They, too, applied for incorporation. The Land Bank was unable to secure a charter because the Governor and Council were opposed to it. The Silver Bank in like manner was thwarted by the opposition of the House.

The contest between the two Banks was continued over the next summer, a new court being elected in the meantime, which, like the former, had a House of Representatives overwhelmingly in favor of the Land Bank, while the Governor and Council were not only opposed to it, but favored its opponent, the Silver Bank.

In the fall of 1740, it being evident that neither company could secure incorporation, both organized and proceeded to emit bills. An acute contest for supremacy then took place between the two companies, which extended even beyond the boundary lines of the province, and made itself felt within the limits of the adjoining governments. On the one side was arrayed a powerful minority, composed mainly of the Boston capitalists, backed by the Governor and Council; on the other, the great majority of the men of small means scattered through the county towns, who by their votes were able not only to control the House of Representatives, but also in many instances to secure votes that the bills of the Land Bank should be received by the towns in which they lived, in payment of rates. One of the articles of the Silver Bank pledged all subscribers to the Silver Bank to refuse Land Bank bills in trade. In addition to this, agreements not to receive the bills were circulated among merchants, and the signers caused these documents to be published in the News-Letter and other newspapers of that day.

Those who favored the Land Bank, on their part, published counter agreements, in which the subscribers thereto announced to the public that they would receive Land Bank bills in trade, and individual advertisers incorporated in their advertisements clauses indicating the course that they would pursue.

The columns of the contemporaneous press contain also the denials or the justifications of individuals who were charged with favoring or opposing the Land Bank, and with occasional

attempts on the part of the wits of the day to accomplish through ridicule what sober sense seemed utterly unable to achieve.

Meantime the numbers of subscribers to the Land Bank had steadily increased. Their petition for incorporation was signed by less than four hundred. When they organized they numbered over eight hundred, and ultimately there were about one thousand of the citizens of the province directly interested in the scheme. This growing popularity of the Land Bank incited the Governor to take a hand. The patronage of the gubernatorial office made the approbation or disapprobation of that official a matter of some consequence to the great body of office-holders, civil and military, scattered through the province. The Governor began the contest by issuing proclamations addressed to different classes of office-holders holding commissions under him, warning them against signing or giving any countenance or encouragement to the passing of the Land Bank notes on pain of being removed from office. Registers of deeds were required to report to the Council the names of those who had mortgaged their property to the Land Bank. Military officers were instructed to inquire in this regard into the conduct of officers subordinate to them. The Justices of the General Sessions were instructed to use their power, both in court and as individuals, to prevent the circulation of Land Bank bills. Those whose occupations required licenses from the province were cautioned against passing or receiving the bills. Attorneys who should receive or pass the bills were deprived of the right of pleading before the Council.

Before Belcher took these active steps to secure the suppression of the Land Bank, there were quite a number of Justices of the Peace and Militia Officers who were already committed to the support of the company, and there were many others dependent in one way or another upon the

government who had received and paid out the bills in course of trade. The greater part of those holding remunerative offices hastened to get under cover, but there were many Justices of the Peace and several Militia Officers who regarded the interference by the government as an infringement of their individual rights, and who preferred to lay down their offices rather than submit to such inquisitorial proceedings.

Some of the correspondence which then took place was spicy and spirited and was a sure index of the extent to which the individuals affected were aroused by these extraordinary proceedings. The net result was, however, that, so far as outsiders could judge, the Land Bank continued to grow and to prosper. Affected by this apparent prosperity the citizens of some of the small towns began to discuss the question of organizing local land banks, and in one case, at least, this was actually accomplished. It was, therefore, evident that the power of the Boston capitalists, combined with that derived from the official patronage of the Governor, was totally inadequate to secure the suppression of this delusion. Legislation was, of course, impracticable since the Land Bank was in the ascendant in the House. The opponents of the Bank, therefore, turned to Parliament for aid.

Now, it had happened that the question whether there was any existing legislation in the Statute Books of Great Britain under which such a bank as the Land Bank could be suppressed had already been fully considered by the law officers of the Crown, and they had twice, at least, reported either in direct words to that effect or in equivalent phrase, that there was none that they knew of. The first time was in 1735, when the Attorney-General stated that he saw no objection to a sort of bank proposed in Boston. This, doubtless, referred to a scheme, devised in 1734, by some New Hampshire merchants for emitting bills of credit based solely upon their in-

dividual responsibility, and this scheme had in 1736 actually met with the official approval of the Board of Trade. The second case was when the House of Commons called for information on the subject, and the law officers then in direct terms asserted that there was no legislation which would reach the case.

Parliament was, however, equal to the emergency. There was upon the Statute Books a law passed twenty years before, in the days of the South Sea Bubble, which was generally called the Bubble Act. It was inspired by the desire to control or suppress the speculative joint stock companies with which England was then inundated. This Act did not by its terms apply to the Colonies and was not capable of enforcement except by the courts within the realm. Passed at a time when the country was greatly excited over the collapse of the speculative movement inaugurated by the South Sea Company, it was harsh and arbitrary in character, but it was future in its operations, and persons within the realm who should come within the range of its penalties would do so with full knowledge of the danger which they incurred. The transactions of companies which should violate the Act were declared to be void and business done by them would be a public nuisance, for which the offenders were to be punished according to the Nuisance Act. They would further incur the penalties of *præmunire* and were liable for treble damages to a merchant suffering harm in his trade through them.

Parliament was not satisfied with extending this Act to the Colonies by an amendment which should enlarge its future scope, but by means of a new Act asserted that the original Act applied to the Colonies, had continuously applied to them, and would in the future apply to them. Through this legislation all the transactions of the Land Bank became illegal and void. All offenders became liable to the penalties of the Public Nuisance Act and the Statute of Provision and *Præ-*

munire. Any person who had suffered or might suffer injury through any of the proceedings declared to be illegal in the Act was empowered to bring suit against the company or against any subscriber to the same in any court in any of his majesty's dominions, Colonies or Plantations in America, and judgment when recovered should be for treble damages. Any possessor of the notes was authorized to bring action against the company or against any person who within six years had been or who might hereafter be connected with the undertaking. Every person thus connected with the company was declared to be personally liable for the face of the notes with interest from the date of issue, and the possessor was entitled to immediate judgment even if the note by its terms was not yet due. As an encouragement to the subscribers to effect a voluntary liquidation of the affairs of existing companies, the penalty of treble damages could be avoided if all demands were paid and the schemes abandoned before September 29, 1741.

We who have been brought up under a written constitution which prohibits the passage of any law in abrogation of existing contracts and expressly forbids the conversion of legal acts into criminal offence through *ex post facto* enactments, are scarcely in position to do justice to Parliament in our criticism of their exercise of powers of this description in the passage of this Act.

The hard-money men of Boston were glad to avail themselves of the atrocities of the law in order to relieve the province from the disasters which impended if the Land Bank should be permitted to run its course. Confirmed loyalists accepted it as a natural expression of the recognized power of Parliament. Hutchinson, who was both a hard-money man and a confirmed loyalist, speaks of it in the following words : " It was said the Act of George the first " — referring by these words to the Act which I have denominated the Bubble Act,—

"when it passed had no relation to America, but another Act 20 years after gave it force, even from the passing it, which it never had without. This was said to be an instance of the transcendent power of Parliament." An anonymous writer, presumably Dr. Douglass, describes this proceeding as follows: "The legislature of Great Britain found it requisite to suppress them (the Land Bank and similar organization) by a previous Act." The same writer, apparently in perfect sincerity, adds in regard to some emissions which could not by any visible means be suppressed, "There seems to be an absolute necessity for another previous Act of Parliament."

On the other hand, the subscribers to the Land Bank who at the time controlled the popular branch of the Assembly were not prepared to accept the awful consequences thus thrust upon them, for acts committed by them which were unquestionably perfectly legitimate when they were performed. Those subscribers may be broadly divided into two classes,—those who had moderate means with which to respond to the calls which would be made upon them, and those who were so destitute of means that they would have been unable to meet their obligations even if the course of the bank had been permitted to continue uninterruptedly to a natural termination. Over the former were impending, if they should accept the situation, the probability of vexatious suits from possessors of bills, the possibility of criminal prosecution, and the certainty of being called upon to pay their proportion of the losses in trade which the managers had incurred and to make good the shortage resulting from the delinquencies of weak and dishonest subscribers. Many of the subscribers, probably a majority of them, were under these circumstances prepared forcibly to resist the execution of the Act.

When, in the summer of 1741, knowledge of the passage of the Act reached the province, Belcher was still at the head of the government. His hostility to the scheme was so pro-

nounced and personal feelings of such bitterness had been aroused, that there was no avenue open for him to secure a friendly conference with the Land Bank people. A contemporary writer says: "As to the temper of the people at that time, the Land Bank Party, which was very numerous, throughout the Province, was irritated and inflamed to such a degree that they seemed ripe for tumult and disorder; they had persuaded themselves that the Act of Parliament could not be carried into execution, and they had even bid defiance to the Government by their threats."

A collision in Massachusetts must have occurred at that time if Belcher had remained at the head of the government. That it would have been formidable there can be but little doubt. The writer just quoted adds a few words which give his estimate of the feeling of the popular branch of the Assembly: "Nor was the temper of the House of Representatives," he says, "in a much better frame than that of the populace, two thirds of the members at least being either partners or abettors of the Land Bank Scheme, from whom a general opposition to all the measures of Government necessary at that time for his Majesty's service and the public welfare of the Province seemed in the present disposition much to be feared."

"It is supposed" (says a contemporary writer) "that there will be about one thousand subscribers, who in their station must have an intercourse of business or dealing interwoven with ten thousand more." "Many towns" (says another) "take and pass these notes in trade and business, scarce one man dissenting besides paying their town and ministerial rates with it, at least in part."

Such was the condition of affairs when Shirley assumed the government. A thousand subscribers to the Land Bank, indignant at the legislation through which Parliament sought to wind up their company, and in a mood to resist its enforce-

ment, supported in their rebellious attitude by a house of representatives fully prepared to block the wheels of government, if necessary: these, in turn, backed up by other thousands who from reasons of friendship or relations of business sympathized with them.

Shirley was a tactful man, and it was through his influence that the impending collision was then avoided. It is a subject for curious speculation what would have been the result if Belcher had remained at the head of the government and had the people of Massachusetts then anticipated the uprising of 1775. Lacking as they then did the co-operation which was afterwards secured through the Committees of Correspondence; having no means at command through which they could secure a semblance of a legally organized government, round which they could rally, as was the case with the Provincial Congress; and the claims upon the other Colonies for sympathy and support being essentially weaker than those which in 1775 aroused the whole country,—it is probable that any outbreak at that time would have been easily suppressed. Fortunately for all concerned, history escaped the necessity of recording the answer to this problematical suggestion. It is quite certain that by this time some of the wiser of the managers of the Land Bank began to appreciate the elements of weakness in their scheme. Yielding to the persuasions of Shirley, they determined to attempt a voluntary liquidation of their affairs, and their conclusion in this regard carried with it all the other companies, whether organized in opposition to the scheme, like the Silver Bank, or in imitation of it, like the Ipswich Bank.

The complications of the situation were, however, so great that the task of liquidating all the obligations of the company was too much for the solvent members of the company. They could not secure the necessary funds without the aid of legislation on the part of the provincial government. The story

of the several commissions which were appointed to wind up the affairs of the Land Bank, of the hundreds of suits brought by the commissioners in the different counties of the province; of the wholesale issue of warrants of distress against the estates of recalcitrant subscribers for the collection of assessments; of the resistance met with from subscribers, whose influence was still potent enough to block at times legislation which the commissioners deemed of consequence for the speedy closure of their work; of the Lottery which was instituted; of the manner in which certain speculative persons secured possession of bills and harassed others who were subscribers by annoying and vexatious suits; of criminal proceedings instituted against certain of the subscribers; and of the protracted manner in which the vain efforts of commissioners, committees of the General Court, the General Court itself, and the various parties concerned, to secure a settlement of the affair, were dragged along for nearly thirty years, would take too long in the telling for such an occasion as this. Suffice it to say, that while enough money was raised by various means to pay the expenses of raising it and to retire the outstanding bills, there were many claims which must only have been settled by their abandonment through weariness of the claimants.

The Acts under which the closure of the Land Bank was effected were passed by our own General Court. These Acts were inspired, of course, by the Act of Parliament, and their purpose was to carry out what that Act was intended to accomplish. At a later date it was claimed that this provincial legislation was evidence of acquiescence in parliamentary interference with our internal affairs. This proposition was denied by Samuel Adams, who said that the province Acts militated against the parliamentary Act, and that the acquiescence of the people was only to what they deemed might be for the general good. John Adams also in his turn repudiated

it, and said that the province Acts were directly in opposition to the parliamentary Acts. This was certainly true. The parliamentary Act made all the acts of the Land Bank null and void. The affairs of the Bank could not possibly be wound up without recognition of the bonds and mortgages and the contracts, and the whole proceedings of the Commissions were based upon the theory of their continued existence.

The controversy was for many years constantly brought before the public through the repeated applications of the Commissioners for more effective legislation with which to accomplish a settlement of the affairs of the company ; through the petitions of subscribers to the General Court for relief, and through the numerous law proceedings in connection therewith which occupied the attention of the courts throughout the province. In the course of time, the acuteness of the conflict grew feebler and feebler, and mention of the Land Bank in the records occurs only at intervals, which grow longer and longer ; but when the Stamp Act was passed the period of activity was not over. The General Court had not yet ceased to wrestle with the laws through which it was hoped to wind up the affair ; the Commissioners had not yet ceased to levy assessments upon the subscribers ; and the subscribers themselves had not yet ceased to wonder what new blow was to be aimed at them for their inadvertence in believing that they had a right to organize their company and emit their notes, so long as there was no existing statute which prohibited such actions. No man who suffered from these causes but in his heart denounced the doctrine of Parliamentary Supremacy. Hundreds, perhaps thousands, who did not themselves suffer, must have sympathized with them. There must, indeed, have been some among the hard-money men whose readiness to avail themselves of any means to suppress what they believed to be an economic heresy, was

tempered by a fear that the same power might some day be exercised to their disadvantage. It was while in this mood that the people of Massachusetts were called upon to discuss the new policy of taxation inaugurated by Parliament.

Whether the feelings aroused by this contest were sufficiently acute in themselves, and whether they were widely enough distributed through the community to affect the general politics of the province, are questions which each person who examines the story of the Land Bank must answer for himself. Our historians have, as a rule, practically ignored their influence. What facts they have dealt with came to them filtered through the prejudices of Douglass, an uncompromising hard-money man, and Hutchinson, a hard-money man and a devoted loyalist. To them the means justified the end; and as their associations were with men of similar opinions, it is possible that they did not fully appreciate what was going on about them. On the other hand, John Adams, although a mere child when the Act of Parliament was passed, was old enough before the conflict began to wane to comprehend what was going on, and his testimony as to its virulence and strength leaves little room for doubt on that score. His words were:—

“The Act to destroy the Land Bank raised a greater ferment in this Province than the Stamp Act did.”

NOTE.

It has been suggested to me that the story of the Land Bank and of the political excitement caused by it, is based upon sources of information relatively obscure, and therefore that their indication through notes would add to the value of this paper. It was not my intention to read on this occasion a paper which should require annotation. I will therefore content myself with referring the reader who may desire to pursue the subject further to the following papers:—

Provincial Banks, Land and Silver. Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. III., January, 1895.

Alphabetical List of the Partners of the Land Bank of 1740. New England Historical and Genealogical Register for April and July, 1896.

Legislation and Litigation connected with the Land Bank of 1740. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1897.

The General Court and Land Bank Litigants. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1897.

The Currency and Provincial Politics. Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. VI., April, 1899.

Previous Legislation a Corrective for Colonial Troubles. Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vol. VI., March, 1900.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE,

1901.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

JUNE 1, 1900, TO JUNE 1, 1901.

June 1, 1900.

BALANCE:—

Income Account	\$525.58
Granite Lodge Fund	547.29

INITIATION FEES, from 13 new members	65.00
ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT	5,249.70

INTEREST:—

Granite Lodge Fund	\$1,614.72
Deposits	21.44

MORTGAGES SOLD:—

Belonging to Granite Lodge Fund	5,000.00	6,636.16
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\$13,023.73

CASH ACCOUNT.

EXPENDITURES AND INVESTMENTS.

JUNE 1, 1900, TO JUNE 1, 1901.

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett (Superintendent)	\$900.00
George A. Lee (Assistant)	720.00
Ellen F. Palmer (Clerk)	480.00
Joseph W. Noble (Police)	732.00
Francis H. Brown (Secretary)	250.00
	\$3,082.00

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	322.96
Fuel and ice	50.40
City of Boston: water-rates and street-watering tax	166.12
Telephone service	45.45
Police service Sundays	27.00
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —	
in removing snow	\$39.50
on fence	21.00
	60.50
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses	173.63
	846.06
Secretary's office rent, twelve months	150.00
C. H. Greenleaf & Co.: luncheon at the Vendôme .	111.00
Postage, telegrams, stationery, and clerical services .	176.28
Boston Storage Warehouse: rent	16.20
Advertising	2.70
University Press: printing	344.32
	800.50
	\$4,728.56

MORTGAGES:—

First Mortgages on improved property in Boston, payable, principal and interest, in United States gold coin: @ 4 %	500.00
@ 4 ½	1,000.00
@ 5 %	6,500.00
	8,000.00

INTEREST, accrued on mortgages, paid in adjustment	120.89	8,120.89
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BALANCE:—

Income account	33.16
Granite Lodge Fund	141.12
	174.28
	\$13,023.73

GRANITE LODGE FUND.

Amount of the Fund, June 1, 1900	\$30,547.29
Net amount of Interest received during the year	1,493.83
Transferred from Income account	1,100.00
Amount of the Fund, June 1, 1901	<u>\$33,141.12</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

Debits.	
16. The Monument	\$133,649.83
79. Cash	174.28
91. Mortgages	33,000.00
	<u>\$166,824.11</u>
Credits.	
40. Capital	\$133,649.83
60. Income	33.16
62. Granite Lodge Fund	33,141.12
	<u>\$166,824.11</u>

G. ARTHUR HILTON, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1901.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1901, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and securities of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the Investments and of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

 JOHN NOBLE
 S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 14, 1901.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1900, TO JUNE 1, 1901.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama	17	Nebraska	115
Arkansas	24	Nevada	11
California	409	New Hampshire	1,168
Colorado	152	New Jersey	840
Connecticut	766	New York	3,525
Delaware	31	North Carolina	73
Florida	46	North Dakota	16
Georgia	81	Ohio	625
Idaho	16	Oregon	35
Illinois	813	Pennsylvania	1,567
Indiana	137	Rhode Island	831
Iowa	209	South Carolina	34
Kansas	75	South Dakota	18
Kentucky	81	Tennessee	75
Louisiana	38	Texas	101
Maine	1,134	Utah	130
Massachusetts	8,838	Vermont	768
Maryland	240	Virginia	118
Michigan	283	West Virginia	29
Minnesota	279	Washington	53
Mississippi	21	Wisconsin	183
Missouri	240	Wyoming	12
Montana	55		

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Alaska	6	Indian	2
Arizona	13	New Mexico	8
District of Columbia	151	Oklahoma	8

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Africa	3	Ireland	9
Asia	55	Italy	3
Australia	9	Mexico	21
Canada	612	New Zealand	2
Cuba	231	Norway and Sweden	13
England	116	Russia	5
Europe	2	Sandwich Islands	22
France	5	Scotland	23
Germany	15	Wales	12
India	7	West Indies	13
Boston			2,506
Number free of charge			1,222
From the United States			24,312
From Territories of the United States			188
From Foreign Countries			1,178

Board of Directors
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,
JUNE 17, 1901,
IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER	1855	ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893
FRANKLIN GORDON DEXTER	1858	AUGUSTUS PEARL MARTIN	1894
GEORGE BENJAMIN NEAL	1859	HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894
CHARLES MERRIAM	1866	CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1895
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	ARTHUR AMORY	1895
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1868	EDWARD BROOKS	1895
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE	1874	RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL	1895
HENRY WALKER	1874	FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Sec'y</i>)	1896
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER	1875	SOLomon LINCOLN (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1896
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	WILLIAM EVERETT	1877
THOMAS GODDARD FROTHINGHAM	1880	THOMAS GODDARD FROTHINGHAM	1880
EDWARD EVERETT HALE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1881	EDWARD EVERETT HALE (<i>Vice-President</i>)	1881
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN	1882	GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON (<i>Treasurer</i>)	1897
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES	1897
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL	1897
WILLIAM SUMNER APPLETON	1884	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH	1885	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1897
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE	1886	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH	1897
JOHN HOMANS	1887	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	1898
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL	1887	JOHN NOBLE	1899
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE	1887	STEPHEN SALISBURY	1899
URIEL HASKELL CROCKER	1888	JAMES DE NORMANDIE	1900
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL	1900
JOHN LATHROP	1890	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT	1900
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS	1891	ARTHUR LINCOLN	1900
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
JOHN CHESTER INCHES	1893	RICHARD DEVENS	1901
		GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS	1901
		THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1901-1902.

WINSLOW WARREN, *President*,
GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON, *Treasurer*,
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary*, } *Ex Officiis.*
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
THOMAS GODDARD FROTHINGHAM.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
SOLOMON LINCOLN.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
JOHN LATHROP.
JOHN NOBLE.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1823.

- *JOSEPH STORY.

- 1824.
- *JOHN ADAMS.
- *JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
- *WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.
- *PETER CHARDON BROOKS.
- *BENJAMIN BUSSEY.
- *HENRY DEARBORN.
- *WILLIAM EUSTIS.
- *CHRISTOPHER GORE.
- *WILLIAM GRAY.
- *GARDINER GREENE.
- *JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND.
- *LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE.
- *CHARLES LOWELL.
- *JOHN LOWELL.
- *THEODORE LYMAN.
- *JOHN MARSHALL.
- *JONATHAN MASON.
- *MARCUS MORTON.
- *PEREZ MORTON.
- *JOSEPH WARREN NEWCOMB.
- *RICHARD ENGLISH NEWCOMB.
- *HARRISON GRAY OTIS.
- *ISAAC PARKER.
- *WILLIAM PHILLIPS.
- *BENJAMIN PICKMAN.
- *WILLIAM PRESCOTT.
- *JAMES SULLIVAN.
- *ISRAEL THORNDIKE.
- *ARNOLD WELLES.
- *THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP.

1825.

- *JAMES BARBOUR.
 - *JOHN CARTER.
 - *HENRY CLAY.
 - *DEWITT CLINTON.
 - *DAVID DAGGETT.
 - *JOSEPH DESHA.
 - *JOHN GAILLARD.
 - *GEORGE GIBBS.
 - *ROBERT GILMER.
 - *ANDREW R. GOVAN.
 - *ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE.
 - *JOHN HOFFMAN.
 - *LEONARD JARVIS.
 - *THOMAS JEFFERSON.
 - *JAMES KENT.
 - *GEORGE McDUFFIE.
 - *JAMES MADISON.
 - *CHARLES FENTON MERCER.
 - *JAMES MONROE.
 - *DAVID LAWRENCE MORRILL.
 - *ELIJAH PAINE.
 - *BENJAMIN PEIRCE.
 - *BERNARD PEYTON.
 - *DANIEL PUTNAM.
 - *WILLIAM CLARKE SOMERVILLE.
 - *SAMUEL SOUTHARD.
 - *THOMAS TODD.
 - *GEORGE TUCKER.
 - *WILLIAM VANCE.
 - *CHARLES PETER VAN NESS.
 - *OLIVER WOLCOTT.
- 1826.
- *SIMON BOLIVAR.

1867.		1884.
*GEORGE PEABODY.		*GEORGE BANCROFT.
1869.		1885.
*DAVID GLASCOE FARRAGUT.		*ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP.
*ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.		1886.
*PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN.		GROVER CLEVELAND.
*WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.		OLIVER OTIS HOWARD.
*JOHN ANCrum WINSLOW.		JOHN McALLISTER SCHOFIELD.
1870.		*ALFRED HOWE TERRY.
*JAMES ALDEN.		1887.
*CHARLES HENRY DAVIS.		*THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD.
*JUDSON KILPATRICK.		*JOHN SHERMAN.
*IRVIN McDOWELL.		1888.
*GEORGE GORDON MEADE.		*GEORGE CROOK.
*DAVID DIXON PORTER.		NELSON APPLETON MILES.
*CHARLES STEEDMAN.		DOUGLAS PUTNAM.
1872.		DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.
*HAMILTON FISH.		1889.
1874.		*BENJAMIN HARRISON.
*GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.		LEWIS ASHFIELD KIMBERLY.
CARL SCHURZ.		1890.
1876.		*MARIE FRANCOIS SADI CARNOT.
*OSCAR LAFAYETTE.		1891.
1877.		WHITELAW REID.
*RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.		*JOHN LORIMER WORDEN.
*DOM PEDRO.		1892.
1878.		*EDWARD JOHN PHELPS.
*GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.		*HENRY WADSWORTH SLOCUM.
1880.		1893.
*AMBROSE EVERETT BURNSIDE.		*EMILIO CASTELAR.
*WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS.		MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.
*GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN.		HORACE PORTER.
1882.		1894.
*WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.		ANDREW ELICOTT KENNEDY
JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY.		BENHAM.
*EDMOND DE LAFAYETTE.		1895.
*MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU.		GASTON DE SAHUNE LAFAYETTE.
		1897.
		WILLIAM McKINLEY.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

A.

Francis Ellingwood Abbot.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
Ebenezer Alexander.
Charles Allen.
Charles Hastings Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
Nathan Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Burtis Lacy Arbecam.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Edward Atkinson.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
William Henry Badlam.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.

Peter Baker.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Eben Francis Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
James Madison Barker.
John George Barker.
Edmund Johnson Barnard.
Samuel June Barrows.
Nelson Bartlett.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
James Henry Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Albert Decatur Spaulter Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Charles Vose Bemis.
Josiah Henry Benton, Jr.
William Emery Bicknell.
Wilmon Wheildon Blackmar.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel Parkman Blake.
Joshua Peter Bodfish.
Joel Carlton Bolan.
Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.
Henry Pickering Bowditch.
Martin Luther Bradford.
Frank Eliot Bradish.
Henry Willard Bragg. ↓

John Summerfield Brayton.
 Frank Brewster.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.
 Edward Brooks.
 Lawrence Brooks.
 Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Joseph Henry Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Thomas Quincy Browne.
 Edward Ingersoll Browne.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Augustus George Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 Charles Favour Byam.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C.

Arthur Tracy Cabot.
 James Elliot Cabot.
 Louis Cabot.
 Joseph Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 John Wilson Candler.
 John Capen.
 William Edward Carleton.
 Frederick Bunker Carpenter.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 Nahum Chapin.

Charles Augustus Chase.
 George Bigelow Chase.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.
 Munroe Chickering.
 Charles Francis Choate.
 William Claflin.
 George Franklin Clapp.
 Arthur Tirrell Clark.
 David Oakes Clark.
 Robert Farley Clark.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Charles Warren Clifford.
 Arthur Bruce Coburn.
 Charles Henry Coburn.
 Charles Russell Codman.
 Rufus Coffin.
 Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
 Benjamin Battelle Converse.
 David Hill Coolidge.
 Ernest Hall Coolidge.
 Frederic Austin Coolidge.
 George Augustin Coolidge.
 Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
 Charles Everett Coombs.
 John Joseph Copp.
 Charles Uriah Cotting.
 George Glover Crocker.
 George Uriel Crocker.
 Uriel Haskell Crocker.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Stephen Moody Crosby.
 Charles Amos Cummings.
 Prentiss Cummings.
 Henry Winchester Cunningham.
 Charles Pelham Curtis.
 John Silsbee Curtis.
 Frederic Haines Curtiss.
 Henry Clark Cutter.

D.

Lewis Stackpole Dabney.
 William Johnson Dale.
 John Stanhope Damrell.
 Richard Henry Dana.
 Thomas Dana.
 Allen Danforth.
 James Hutchins Danforth.
 Henry William Daniell.
 George Allen Dary.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 John Ward Dean.
 John George Dearborn.
 Henry Beals Dennison.
 Henry Gardner Denny.
 Joseph Waldo Denny.
 James DeNormandie.
 Arthur Lithgow Devens.
 Richard Devens.
 Franklin Dexter.
 Franklin Gordon Dexter.
 Gordon Dexter.
 Philip Dexter.
 William Sohier Dexter.
 Marquis Fayette Dickinson, Jr.
 Pitt Dillingham.
 Charles Healy Ditson.
 Horace Dodd.
 Charles Acton Drew.
 Edward Livingston Drown.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.
 Edward Howard Dunn.
 Henry Dorr Dupee.
 Theodore Francis Dwight.
 Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton, Jr.
 Henry Herbert Edes.

Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 George Davis Edmands.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 Thomas Franklin Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 Eugene Francis Endicott.
 William Endicott.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 William Tracy Eustis.
 Edward Everett.
 Percival Lowell Everett.
 William Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.
 William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.
 George Albert Fisher.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Francis Apthorp Foster.
 Francis Charles Foster.
 John Andrews Fox.
 Alden Frink.
 Benjamin Thompson
 Frothingham.
 Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham,
 Jr.
 Charles Emerson Fuller.
 John Kuhn Fuller.

G.

Arthur Morton Gardner.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 Daniel Dudley Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Abner Cheney Goodell.
 Elbridge Henry Goss.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Joseph Foster Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Henry Sturgis Grew.
 William Elliot Griffis.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.
 Curtis Guild.

H.

John Haigh.
 Edward Hale.
 Edward Everett Hale.
 Josiah Little Hale.
 Richard Warren Hale.
 Robert Sever Hale.
 Edward Henry Hall.
 Franklin Austin Hall.
 Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
 John Hargreaves.
 Edwin Augustus Warren
 Harlow.
 Henry Mason Harper.
 Charles Harris.
 Samuel Tibbets Harris.
 Thaddeus William Harris.
 Thomas Norton Hart.

William Henry Hart.
 Edwin Bradbury Haskell.
 John Tyler Hassam.
 Henry Hastings.
 Albert Fearing Hayden.
 Henry Williamson Haynes.
 Frank Conant Hayward.
 John Theodore Heard.
 Augustus Hemenway.
 Nathaniel Hurd Henchman.
 Joseph Putnam Bradlee
 Henshaw.
 Philip Hichborn.
 William Hichborn.
 Henry Lee Higginson.
 Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
 James Frederic Hill.
 Joseph Warren Hill.
 William Henry Hill.
 Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
 Samuel Parker Hinckley.
 Joshua Bennett Holden.
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.
 John Homans.
 John Homans, 2d.
 Franklin Hopkins.
 Edward Augustus Horton.
 Clement Stevens Houghton.
 Archibald Murray Howe.
 John Chase Howe.
 Osborne Howes.
 Edwin Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.
 Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Richard Clapp Humphreys.
 Horatio Hollis Hunnewell.
 James Frothingham Hunnewell.
 Israel Thorndike Hunt.

George Frederick Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.
 George Hyde.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
 George Brimmer Inches.
 John Chester Inches.
 William Ingalls.

J.

Thomas Hart Benton James.
 Henry Percy Jaques.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Edward Jenkins Jones.
 Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.
 William Francis Joy.

K.

Edward Albert Kelly.
 Martin Parry Kennard.
 John Kent.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Arthur Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 Edward Lawrence.
 Francis William Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Arthur Lincoln.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Solomon Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 John Summerfield Lindsay.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Rhodes Lockwood.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.
 Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Charles Greely Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.

John Lowell.
 Charles Gustavus Lundell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.

M.

Edward MacDonald.
 Edward Webster McGlenen.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Otis Humphrey Marion.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 Augustus Pearl Martin.
 William Theophilus Rogers Marvin.

Albert Mason.
 Charles Frank Mason.

Albert Matthews.

Nathan Matthews.

Frederick Warren Goddard May.

Charles Merriam.

Albert Brown Merrill.

Moses Merrill.

Thomas Minns.

Godfrey Morse.

John Torrey Morse, Jr.

William Russell Morse.

Anthony Smith Morss.

Marcus Morton.

James Madison Morton.

Charles William Moseley.

Edward Augustus Moseley.

Frank Moseley.

Frederick Strong Moseley.

Alfred Edgar Mullett.

N.

Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 George Benjamin Neal.

Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Sereno Dwight Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 John Oscar Norris.
 Charles Eliot Norton.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 Francis Augustus Osborn.

P.

Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Robert Treat Paine.
 Eben Francis Parker.
 Francis Jewett Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.
 Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 William Ordway Partridge.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 Francis Howard Peabody.
 Henry Wayland Peabody.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Frederick Pease.
 James Mills Peirce.
 Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
 Alvah Henry Peters.
 Frederick George Pettigrove.
 Charles Abner Phelps.
 Frederick Bacon Philbrook.
 Stephen Willard Phillips.

Henry Pickering.
 Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
 Phineas Pierce.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pilsbury.
 William Taggard Piper.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George Sanger Poole.
 Charles Hunt Porter.
 Linzee Prescott.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
 Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 John Hooper Reed.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 Joseph Warren Revere.
 William Ball Rice.
 William Reuben Richards.
 Gedney King Richardson.
 George Lincoln Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 Thomas Oren Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.
 Peter Stillings Roberts.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 William Robinson.
 Horace Tyler Rockwell.
 Gorham Rogers.
 George Ibison Ross.

George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 John Edwards Russell.
 Thomas Russell.
 William Augustus Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Stephen Salisbury.
 Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 Eugene Henry Sampson.
 Oscar Hallet Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 John Eliot Sanford.
 Charles Hicks Saunders.
 Charles William Sawyer.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 George Sawyer.
 Timothy Thompson Sawyer.
 Timothy Thompson Sawyer, Jr.
 Warren Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 James Lawrence Scott.
 Horace Elisha Scudder.
 Joseph Henry Sears.
 Joshua Montgomery Sears.
 Henry Dwight Sedgwick.
 Thomas Oliver Selfridge, Jr.
 Henry Shaw.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 Reuben Sherburne.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Dennison Rogers Slade.
 Charles Card Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith.
 Franklin Webster Smith.
 Frank Langdon Smith.
 Sidney Leroy Smith.

Nathaniel Greenwood Snelling.
 Charles Armstrong Snow.
 Samuel Thomas Snow.
 Emery Souther.
 Robert Alexander Southworth.
 Arthur John Clark Sowdon.
 Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Charles Franklin Sprague.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Benjamin Franklin Stacey.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Carlton Albert Staples.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Benjamin Franklin Stevens.
 Horace Holley Stevens.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Francis Stowell.
 John Stowell.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 William Willard Swan.
 Frank Eliot Sweetser.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.
 Lindsay Swift.

T.

Thomas French Temple.
 George Thacher.
 John Eliot Thayer.
 Nathaniel Thayer.
 Washington Butcher Thomas.
 Abraham Rand Thompson.
 John Thompson.
 John Larkin Thorndike.
 Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
 Benjamin Holt Ticknor.

Amos Kendall Tilden.
 James Pike Tolman.
 Everett Torrey.
 David Howard Tribou.
 Washington Benson Trull.
 George Fox Tucker.
 Frederick Tudor.
 George Frederick Tufts.
 Henry Augustus Turner.
 John Turner.
 John Franklin Turner.
 Julius Herbert Tuttle.
 Alexander Stevenson Twombly.
 Edward Royall Tyler.
 Martha Alger Tyler.

U.

William Phineas Upham.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.
 Frank Vose.

W.

Freeman Andrew Walker.
 Henry Walker.
 Henshaw Bates Walley.
 Frank Edwards Warner.
 Joseph Bangs Warner.
 Charles Warren.
 John Warren.
 John Collins Warren.
 Joseph Warren.
 Lucius Henry Warren.
 Nathan Warren.
 William Fairfield Warren.
 Winslow Warren.
 John Davis Washburn.
 Walter Kendall Watkins.

Horace Herbert Watson.	George Wigglesworth.
Winslow Charles Watson.	Arthur Walter Willard.
Charles Goddard Weld.	Luke Putnam Willard.
Stephen Minot Weld.	Levi Lincoln Willett.
Frederick Augustus Wellington.	William Lithgow Willey.
Arthur Holbrook Wellman.	Charles Herbert Williams.
Joshua Wyman Wellman.	Edward Henry Williams.
Samuel Wells.	George Frederick Williams.
David Brainard Weston.	Henry Dudley Williams.
Jeremiah Otis Wetherbee.	Moses Williams.
Alexander Strong Wheeler.	Robert Breck Williams.
Henry Wheeler.	John Wilson.
Horace Leslie Wheeler.	John Boynton Wilson.
Andrew Cunningham Wheelwright.	Albert Edward Winship.
Edmund March Wheelwright.	Erving Winslow.
William Gleason Wheildon.	Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr.
Bradlee Whidden.	Robert Mason Winthrop.
Renton Whidden.	Roger Wolcott.
Stephen Hampden Whidden.	Samuel Huntington Wolcott.
George Warner White.	William Prescott Wolcott.
James Clarke White.	Stephen Foster Woodman.
Albert Turner Whiting.	Henry Ernest Woods.
William Austin Whiting.	Henry Frank Woods.
William Whitman.	George Wellman Wright.
David Rice Whitney.	
James Lyman Whitney.	
Henry Whittemore.	
Albert Rufus Whittier.	

Y.

Charles Loring Young.
Edward James Young.

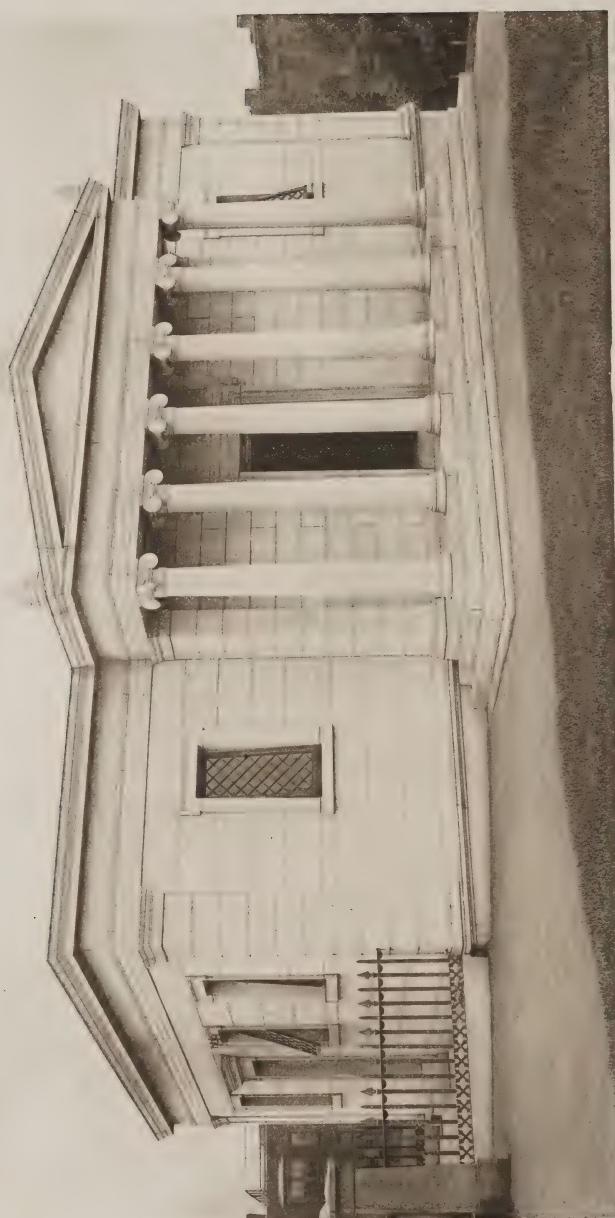
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1903

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

1903

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OF THE
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ASSOCIATION

1903



THE GRANITE LODGE

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1903

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
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PROCEEDINGS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme, Boston, on Wednesday, June 17, 1903, at 10 o'clock in the morning. Dr. JOHN COLLINS WARREN, one of the Vice-Presidents, occupied the Chair.

Prayer was offered by Reverend LEIGHTON PARKS, D.D., Rector of Emmanuel Church in Boston.

In the absence of the President, his Annual Address was read by the Secretary.

Reverend JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D., addressed the Association on "The First Church in Roxbury and Revolutionary Times."

Doctor J. COLLINS WARREN spoke on "Relics of General Warren," and exhibited articles which at one time were in his possession.

The TREASURER presented his Annual Report in print. The Report of the Auditors, Messrs. JOHN NOBLE and S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE, was presented, together with the certificate of Mr. WILLIAM H. HART, Public Accountant. Both reports were accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

The TREASURER called attention to the fact that the current receipts of the Association from the admission fees at the Monument were insufficient to pay the annual expenses; and that, moreover, the building of the Granite Lodge had somewhat exceeded the anticipated cost. The TREASURER had therefore been obliged to borrow the sum of one thousand dollars and give the note of the Association therefor. He suggested the propriety of paying this indebtedness by subscription among the members, and the raising of a Fund to be used for future needs of the Corporation.

A telegram was received from Honorable WILLIAM G. BADGER, President of the Bunker Hill Association of California, offering the congratulations of that body. It was voted that a suitable message be sent to the Society in California.

A communication was received from the Committee of the City Government on the celebration of the Seventeenth of June, asking members of the Association to unite with them in the services of the afternoon at Charlestown, attending the reception of the Liberty Bell from Philadelphia. The invitation was accepted.

The addresses of the PRESIDENT, Dr. DE NORMANDIE, and Dr. WARREN were referred to the Standing Committee, with instructions to have them printed and distributed in the usual manner.

The Association then elected as Associate Members the persons who had been recommended by the Standing Committee.

Messrs. DE NORMANDIE, HILTON, and C. M. GREEN were appointed by the Chair a Nominating Committee, and on their recommendation the officers named on page 11 were elected by ballot.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS.

President.

WINSLOW WARREN.

Vice-Presidents.

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio.*

JOHN COLLINS WARREN. EDWARD EVERETT HALE.
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. SOLOMON LINCOLN.

Treasurer.

GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON. FRANCIS HENRY BROWN.

Directors.

ARTHUR AMORY.	HENRY FITCH JENKS.
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER.	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL.
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH.	JOHN LATHROP.
HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH.	AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
EDWARD BROOKS.	CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE.
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE.	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER.	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD.	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.	WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN.
CHARLES AMOS CUMMINGS.	CHARLES MERRIAM.
ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS.	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.	JOHN NOBLE.
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS.	GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
RICHARD DEVENS.	LINZEE PRESCOTT.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.	ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND.
GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS.	STEPHEN SALISBURY.
WILLIAM ENDICOTT.	RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL.
WILLIAM EVERETT.	TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS.	MOORFIELD STOREY.
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.	NATHANIEL THAYER.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.	HENRY WALKER.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.	LUCIUS HENRY WARREN.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.	HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

A D D R E S S.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION :

IT is a matter of sincere regret to me that your annual meeting should find me again absent; but my interest in the Association has not lessened, and I am as convinced as ever that these patriotic societies are serving a useful purpose in the Nation, and that the memories evoked and the principles recalled at the yearly meetings are of advantage in holding people to a higher standard of citizenship by the contemplation of the sacrifice made to form our Union of States and needed to perpetuate it. We grow stronger and mightier as a Nation as the years roll by, but our real greatness is not added to by that unless we retain the moral virtue necessary for an enduring popular government. It must be patent to us all that at the present moment America, as well as the rest of the world, is inclined to magnify somewhat the idea of physical strength, and to dwell upon the advantage of military power. Doubtless a nation with diversified interests, reaching out so insistently for a dominating position in the world's affairs, has to consider that element of national strength and must take reasonable precautions against the future, yet the moral forces of a nation will ever constitute its most enduring glory, and the character of its people is of more real importance than its military power.

The strenuous life so much evoked of late is just as prevalent in times of peace as in times of war, and the courage of

the man who battles with life in arduous effort to do his whole duty and preserve his moral rectitude is fully as praiseworthy as the more conspicuous but common courage of the battlefield of war. The grandest exhibitions of unselfish courage are seen all around us in daily life,— the heroism of the engineer who stays by his engine rushing to destruction ; the cool nerve of the brave firemen who risk their lives almost daily to save imperilled women and children ; the true courage of the man who defies popular clamor and personal peril in defence of the right ; the patient suffering of thousands who labor for their fellowmen,— nothing can be more strenuous than such examples, and no form of courage can more ennoble and dignify the human race.

The year that has passed has been of interest to this Association from the fact of the completion of the Granite Lodge and its connection with the Monument, giving for the first time an approach to the Monument worthy of its character, and commodious and handsome. It was singular that just at the time when the public spirit of our citizens had accomplished so desirable an object — paid for it by private generosity — a move should have been made at the State House, under an almost forgotten and obsolete Statute, for the State to assume unasked the charge of the Monument and grounds and dispense with the services of this Association. Believing it to be for the interest of the community that the present organization should be retained, and that there was no just cause or legal right for the State to claim any such power or to exert it if it existed, your Directors retained legal counsel and appeared in opposition to any such action, with the result that the petitioner was given leave to withdraw ; and it is highly improbable that the State will ever in the future desire to assume charge of the Monument, unless this Association shall fail to properly care for it or request to be relieved of its burden.

During the year we have met with losses from our membership such as yearly must be noted. Of our Directors who died recently, Mr. Thomas G. Frothingham was one of our most earnest and active members, and to him more, perhaps, than any one else is owing the successful and happy completion of the Lodge. Besides Mr. Frothingham, we are called upon to mourn the loss of Mr. F. Gordon Dexter, Mr. Arthur Lincoln, and Mr. F. W. Lawrence, all of them men of the highest character, and active and prominent citizens.

The greatest need of the Association now is a permanent fund for the better care and preservation of the grounds. The receipts at the Monument barely meet the annual expenses, and a fund which would produce a regular income would enable the Directors to beautify the grounds and to do much valuable work to make them more attractive and interesting. For that we must look to the public spirit and generosity of some of our members who feel an active interest in this grand memorial of the Revolution.

It has always been deemed fitting at this meeting to glance over the events of the year connected with the best interests of the country and of the world. In the main it has been a year of peace: the Boer War has ended, and that suffering country is, we hope, combining its energies to build up its shattered fortunes and to establish a strong and righteous state. The Philippine contest in the field is over for the time and, whatever our views of the righteousness of the position of our country towards those people, we may indulge the hope that justice may be done them, and that they may convince all our people that they are worthy of their independence, and that we may help them to erect an orderly, peaceable, and just government of their own. We may differ, as individuals, in our views of the capacity of those oriental people, or of the propriety of our action towards them, and as an Association we can take no position upon a question which

has assumed too much of a partisan aspect; but as Americans we can all join in the hope that our Nation shall act fairly and consistently with the high standard of political action which has heretofore been maintained.

Perhaps the most noticeable movement of the year has been the industrial one. Vast aggregations of capital have been formed, and coincident with them appears the era of frequent strikes and disorders. This state of things is threatening to our business interests and unfortunate from any aspect. The relations between capital and labor are delicate ones and require the best and most careful thought of our people that justice shall be done to both sides, for there can be no real and permanent prosperity without harmonious relations between these equal forces. The combination of capital is sure to be followed by the combination of labor, and I cannot see how either side should be blamed for that, for with both it is self-preservation. Yet some remedy must be found for the constant conflict, or both will suffer. The interference of the courts by injunction, however necessary at times, is a questionable remedy, for, although I believe the power of injunction is valuable for all our people, it may be carried too far; so much power given to the individual man can hardly escape abuse, and an excessive use of it will be followed by restrictive and perhaps harmful regulation. Ultimately, it seems to me, the State will have to compel the incorporation of labor unions, that a responsible body may be found to deal with; this in itself will give more power to such labor unions as may be seeking just relief, and render them vastly more careful in undertaking unnecessary and unjust strikes which may impose upon them a pecuniary responsibility. I can see no reason why honest capital should dread it, for it would make arbitration more probable and greatly more effective in its ends when both parties to it were responsible entities; but whether that can be brought about or not there

is one plain duty upon us all — to compel order in all strikes and to prevent by all the power of legal authority those who seek redress from proceeding by other than orderly, peaceable and honorable methods.

Our country has entered upon a vast commercial project in undertaking the Panama canal; if it proves a success it will revolutionize trade and will make the Nation a greater consolidated power in welding so closely together the distant portions with the more concentrated and older States.

Nor should we, in a review of this nature, fail to allude to the promised land reforms in Ireland which may bring greater peace and content to that suffering island, and the vast measures of reform undertaken by the Czar of Russia to benefit and improve his people.

With all such peaceful and inspiring projects this Association must heartily sympathize, for, remote as they may be, they are but an extension of the principles for which the fathers of the Revolution fought, and which we as their descendants hope to see adopted by all the civilized world.

ADDRESS

OF

REVEREND JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D.

THE FIRST CHURCH IN ROXBURY, AND REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

BY REVEREND JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D.

THERE stands in the middle of Eliot Square, Roxbury, a venerable edifice, the finest specimen of the Puritan meeting-house remaining in New England. Built in consultation with the distinguished architect, Bulfinch, its proportions are fine, its acoustic properties remarkable, its association with all the early ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the colony most interesting. It is the fifth house of worship on the same spot. The first, built in 1632, like so many of its kind in the origins of this new world, was of logs, with a thatched roof and an earthen floor, about twenty by thirty feet, and twelve feet high. The first houses were built along the street now bearing the name of the town, and there was a regulation that every one must build within half a mile of the meeting-house, — a regulation which seems to have had a meaning two centuries later, when Fellowes left a fund for the building and maintaining of the Fellowes Athenæum, under the condition that it should be within half a mile of the old meeting-house. The second house of worship was built in 1674. A third and much larger was erected in 1741, and only five years after was destroyed by fire, caught, the records say, from a foot-stove; and many thought it was a divine judgment upon the love of ease and luxury which was creeping into the colony. Thereafter, for some time, the fire of devotion was the only means for warming the body through the long hours of the Puritan's worship. But it had its compensations, for without fire the meeting-house was a safe place to keep the powder.

The fourth house of worship was built in 1746, and this brings us down to and through the Revolutionary period.

The succession of ministers was, upon the whole, perhaps more distinguished than any other church in New England can point to. There was Weld, who, as it is said on the tablet about to be erected in his memory by a direct descendant in the First Church, took part in the writing of "The Bay Psalm Book," in the founding of Harvard College, in the trial of Anne Hutchinson; afterwards returning, as it is said, "unwillingly willing," with Hugh Peters, to endure unflinchingly the persecutions from which they had barely escaped; Chaplain to Cromwell; reputed author of the Antinomian Controversy, and the minister of St. Mary's, Gateshead, England; "A vigorous writer, a painful preacher, a zealous and uncompromising Puritan, from this stormy life he entered into peace about the time of the Restoration." Then, at the same time, and from 1632 until 1690, was the ministry of Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians, who, as the years go on, becomes easily the most commanding figure in the early history of New England. No story of the wonderful missions of the Jesuits in the great Northwest — of Marquette, or Allouez, or Dablon — is more heroic, more attractive, or of more fruitful results. Baxter says: "The industry of Jesuits and friars and their successes in Congo, Japan, and China shame us all, save you." Then, just at the close of his ministry, began that of Nehemiah Walter, reaching from 1688 to 1750, of whom it was said that in his day he was one of the most distinguished scholars and preachers of New England; of whom Dr. Chauncy says he was one of the most brilliant of Americans. Then came Amos Adams, the patriot minister, during the stormy days preceding the Revolution. He had a very plain way of telling the people of their sins, so that sometimes they grew restless under his personal attacks; nevertheless, they endured them with patience and not without profit for twenty-two years. Adams was a

very energetic preacher, with an extremely sonorous and plaintive voice ; and, notwithstanding his plainness of speech and the length of his sermons, was popular in and out of the pulpit, and had great influence over his people. He was an ardent patriot, and was the scribe of the convention of ministers at Watertown which, in May, 1775, recommended the people to take up arms. He came to his death by a cold caught while preaching to the soldiers encamped on the lawn just in front of the church, and after a day of strenuous preaching in the church for two long services. The tradition is that he addressed the soldiers standing upon a rum-barrel ; but tradition does not add who had previously emptied the barrel. Had it been the minister himself, it would hardly have detracted from the love of his people, in those days when rum was said to be so much better, that it was beneficial and not harmful ; as when the minister of the Scotch Kirk was supposed to indulge rather too freely, and his neighbor was questioned as to whether he ever saw the minister the worse for drinking there came the quick reply, “Never worse, but often the better.”

So you begin to see what interesting memories in our early history cluster around the site of this ancient church. The church preceding this present one was shattered by the British cannon-balls ; the lawn was the camping-ground of our forces. Here Washington came to review the troops. General Thomas had his headquarters in the gambrel-roofed building still standing, but very likely to be soon taken down, and from its dormer-windows with his spy-glass watched the movements of the enemy at Charlestown. And when the troops started on their march to Cambridge, and went down Roxbury Street, the one road to Boston, and past the school-house, where was the famous grammar school founded by Eliot after the type of the grammar schools of England, the fires of patriotism could no longer be smothered in the teacher,

Robert Williams, and he dismissed the boys, gave the key of the schoolhouse to a pupil to hand to the trustees, fell in the march with the soldiers, and served throughout the war with a marked distinction which is cherished by his descendants. He was a Harvard graduate; and his great-grandson, the venerable Alexander Williams, of the Old Corner Bookstore, whom most of us remember with affection, and only recently deceased, preserved with a worthy pride a volume given to his ancestor by the president of the college as a tribute to his proficiency in Latin.

Here Whitefield came during his great revival journey, and preached on the lawn in front of the church to an immense congregation, coming from every part of the country around, in every kind of vehicles, to the number, it is said, of at least sixteen thousand, on Friday, April 26, 1740; and afterwards dined with Judge Paul Dudley, the founder of the Dudley Lectureship at our neighboring University. He was graciously welcomed by the clergy of Boston, with the exception of Dr. Cutler, rector of Christ Church, who, meeting him on the street, said to him, "I am sorry to see you here;" to whom Whitefield quietly replied, "So is the devil."

And—most sacred of all associations—for more than sixty years here came the Apostle Eliot in that faithful ministry, divided between the early settlers and the native tribes of Indians, with a missionary zeal not less than Saint Paul's, with a tender love for all God's creatures not less than Saint Francis's, and with a charity never surpassed; so that, when Dean Stanley came to this country and asked to what places he would be shown, said, "I want most of all to see where the Pilgrims landed and where the Apostle Eliot preached."

In the plan of the church which stood on the site of this present one, and which may be called the church of the Revolutionary period, one is surprised to find so many of the pews in the names of those who were officers of the army.

Nine of the forty large pews are of such families, the rest of the church being mainly taken up by those who sat on long benches, or free seats.

The town of Roxbury bore the brunt of the Revolutionary conflict during eleven months of the siege, and suffered severely from the cannon of the enemy, as well as the devastation caused by military occupation. As soon as Washington took charge of the army, one of his first orders was to remove, as a military necessity, a number of houses on Roxbury Street, and an estimate of the losses incurred by the town amounted to nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. Belknap, writing in October, 1775, says: "Nothing struck me with more horror than the present condition of Roxbury. That once busy, crowded street is now occupied only by a picket-guard. The houses are deserted, the windows taken out, and many shot-holes visible. Some have been burnt and others pulled down to make room for the fortifications." The right of the American army was at Roxbury, its main post being Meeting-House Hill. Its first commander was General Thomas, whose headquarters, as we have said, were in the parsonage house, still standing on the high rocky bluff near the church, almost the last witness to the scenes of those stormy days, and with a superb view over the city. The lawn in front of the meeting-house was the grand parade of the army. Here the guards for the advanced lines on the Neck, for the main guard in Roxbury Street and for the other posts, and the fatigue parties employed on the fortifications were formed every morning and reviewed by General Thomas. The Rhode Island troops were said to be the best furnished; while the Southern riflemen, in white hunting-shirts and Indian moccasins, were among the most picturesque and also the most feared. They had been trained to think it disgraceful to shoot game anywhere but in the head; and at a review a company of them fired, at a quick advance, their balls into

objects of seven inches' diameter, at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards; and the British spoke of them as those "shirt-tail men, with their cursed twisted guns, the most fatal widow and orphan workers in the world."

Of these names I select for a brief notice three of the principal ones, to whom it is hoped before long memorial tablets will be put in the church.

The first is General William Heath, born on the old Heath homestead, March 2, 1737, a farmer when not engaged in war. In 1770 he was captain of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and began urging the necessity of military preparation, on account of the threatening aspect of public affairs. It was largely through his efforts that the organization of minute-men was effected. He was the trusty friend and assistant of Samuel Adams and Joseph Warren, and an active member of the Committees of Correspondence and of Safety. He was the only general officer on the field on the 19th of April, 1775, and organized and directed the armed husbandmen who that day put the far-famed British regulars to flight. He was the trusted officer to whom Washington confided the command at West Point after the treason of Arnold.

When the end of the war came, and the officers were returning to their homes, General Washington sent the highest tribute to General Heath for his faithful and efficient services throughout the whole struggle,—a letter which he and his family preserved with most worthy pride; and he said to Brissot de Warville, who visited him at his Roxbury farm in 1788, "This letter is a jewel which in my eyes surpasses all the eagles and all the ribbons in the world." And, like Cincinnatus, he retired from the conflict of arms with great joy to the peaceful pursuits of husbandry. "He is a true farmer," said a visitor; "and a glass of cider which he presented to me, with frankness and good-humor painted on his countenance, appeared to me superior to the most exquisite

wines." In later years he grew unwieldy in person, and used, as judge of probate, to make the journey to Dedham in his chaise, which he so completely filled that his son, who had to look out for his safe passage, was obliged to accompany him on horseback. In his democratic simplicity and independence he sometimes drove to church in his ox-cart, as a rebuke also to the luxurious habits which he saw creeping into the settlement. He is described as having a noble and attractive countenance; but he was somewhat unpopular as an officer, on account of his pompous bearing and severe discipline, and at West Point went under the title of the "Duke of Roxbury."

A few months since there was taken down an old Roxbury house, for many years and until his death occupied by Dr. Benjamin Eddy Cotting, adjoining the Norfolk house and on the opposite side of the old building already referred to as the headquarters of General Thomas. In this house, worn out with his service in the war, died General John Greaton, on the 16th of December, 1783. Greaton was born in Roxbury in 1741, was prominent in the Battle of Lexington, and a colonel in Heath's regiment. While the army was encamped at Roxbury, Greaton was conspicuous for daring adventures in whale-boats to Long Island, where the British had large military stores and buildings which he successfully destroyed, bringing the live-stock for the support of his own troops. He was active in the battles and glories of Trenton, Princeton, and Saratoga; and at one time, at Albany, had command of the whole northern department of the army. At the close of the war he was made a brigadier-general, and returned, utterly broken down by arduous service, to his home, only a little over forty, to lay his bones in the old burying-ground.¹

¹ In the year 1902 the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the American Revolution, placed in the Eustis Street Burying Ground a granite monument and bronze tablet, with this inscription: "John Greaton of Roxbury: 1741-1783: a Hero of the American Revolution: Lieutenant-Colonel, 1775: Colonel, 1776: Brigadier-General, 1783."

The third name we have to consider is by far the most distinguished of all, most familiar and dearest in American memories. Of the forty pews of which I have spoken, No. 6 stands in the name of Joseph Warren. The Warren home-stead, built by the first Joseph Warren, a housewright, was next occupied by Joseph Warren, a farmer, his land extending from Warren Place to Moreland Street, near Hotel Warren. In this house Joseph Warren, afterwards the general, was born, in 1741. His father was killed by a fall from a tree in his orchard, where was the origin of the famous Roxbury Russetting, and his widow was left with the care of four sons. Joseph, the eldest, taught for a time in our old Roxbury Latin School, and among its records treasured the following receipt :—

" Roxbury, Dec. 18: 1761. Recd of Joseph Williams, Esqr, one of the Feoffes of the Free school in the town of Roxbury, the sum of £13, six shillings & eight pence in full as of the within order, & in full for my son Mr. Joseph Warren's keeping the said school. I say recd £13. 6. 8.

" MARY WARREN."

All early accounts speak of Mrs. Warren as a woman of rare gifts, combining all that was fine and ideal in the old type of the Puritan character. After teaching, Joseph Warren entered at once into a most successful practice as a physician, when his fervid patriotism, his pleading oratory, and his fearless courage drew him at once to the front in the stirring scenes which were arousing all the province. He had every quality which belonged to a noble leader in peace and to a brave leader in war ; every gift which at first drew one to him by personal attractions and then held him by every manly virtue. New England has not yet ceased to pay the most spontaneous and generous homage to so fine an illustration of her best traits ; nor, while it praises his courage, to lament the fate which took him so early, and at an hour so needed, from his country's service. When Kossuth came to Roxbury, in

1852, and was told that there was nothing to interest him, except that Roxbury was the home of the Apostle Eliot, "Pardon me," he replied, "but was it not the birthplace of Warren?" The stone house, built in 1846 on the site of the original Warren homestead by Dr. John C. Warren, is still occupied by a physician, hoping, perhaps, to gain some favor or efficacy from the atmosphere of a spot made so famous by generations of the most distinguished members of the profession New England has known.

Many of you have doubtless read the tablets on the front of this house:—

"On this spot stood the house erected in 1720 by Joseph Warren, of Boston, remarkable for being the birthplace of Gen. Joseph Warren, his grandson, who was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775."

and

"John Warren, a distinguished physician and anatomist, was also born here. The original mansion being in ruins, this house was built by John C. Warren, M.D., son of the last named, as a permanent memorial of the spot."

After so many years' talk about erecting some memorials to these three distinguished generals of the Revolution, it seems more than probable that at last they will be placed in the old meeting-house built on the site of the one in which they all worshipped.

At the close of the war Roxbury was a suburban village with only one single narrow street dotted with farms, then held by descendants of the original proprietors. All the business was concentrated on this one street, Roxbury, the sole thoroughfare to Boston. My predecessor, Dr. Putnam, said to one of my parishioners: "When I became the minister of this church, every member of the congregation was a farmer, and now you are the only one left in that occupation." The western part of the town had a locality called Canterbury; and on Canterbury Lane — called Dark Lane, or in irony Light

32 ADDRESS OF REV. JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D.

Lane, from the gloom of the overshadowing woods, and sometimes Featherbed Lane, from the rough pebbles of the road — stood a farmhouse, now within the limits of Franklin Park ; and the Commissioners have here erected a tablet which bears the inscription, “Near this rock was the home of Schoolmaster Ralph Waldo Emerson.” In the southwest corner of the town was Brook Farm.

It is interesting to note that at the close of the war Roxbury had two hundred and thirteen dwelling-houses, with a population of about two thousand, which shows us something of the size of families in those days, — nearly ten to a house.

Now all these traces of our Colonial and Revolutionary days are fast disappearing. A population of over one hundred thousand has taken the place of the two thousand ; tenement houses with no suggestions of the ample areas or the large families of those times, and with names readily revealing nationalities so different from our early settlers, are covering all the ground. And it is well the appeal comes to us, with an earnestness not to be resisted, to set up some memorials to speak to the children of these latter days of the virtues which abounded in and consecrated our ancestral homes.

ADDRESS OF JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D.

RELICS OF GENERAL WARREN.

THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT OF HIS SECOND ORATION, AND THE PRAYER BOOK FOUND IN HIS POCKET AFTER THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

BY JOHN COLLINS WARREN, M.D.

THE interesting document from which I am about to read is the original manuscript of General Warren's second oration on the anniversary of the Boston Massacre, delivered in 1775.

I shall quote only from its concluding passages, but before doing so I would like to recall to you for a moment the very peculiar circumstances under which they were uttered.

Franklin, who had been ten years in England and had been exerting during that time all his art as a diplomatist, had abandoned further effort and was making his final preparations to return home; and his departure "was marking an era in the relations of Great Britain with her American colonies."

Boston had indeed been little else than a military port of the Empire since 1768, but the troops had been kept out of sight for a while after the collision with the people in 1770; the British Government was now pushing forward reinforcements rapidly, and the little town of 17,000 inhabitants had quartered upon it an army of nearly half its own size.

The Provincial Congress was meeting at Cambridge and, although not at the moment in session, was having its pro-

visions carried out by that admirably executive body, the Committee of Safety.

Gage, as governor of the province, was watching narrowly the proceedings of this body and reporting to the home government not only its patriotic resolutions but all that he could discover of covert preparation for a conflict.

In fact, the Committee of Safety had but to give the word and there would have been a general rush to arms. But two weeks before a clash between the troops and the people had been narrowly averted in Salem, and it was generally felt that any overt act on the part of the troops would bring about a crisis.

Many good men, however, still hoped that a rupture with the mother country might be avoided, and that some great English statesman might come forward at the last moment who would repair the breach.

It was while the situation was in this state of unstable equilibrium that the anniversary of the Boston Massacre again made its annual appearance ; and it was under these strained and uncertain conditions that the orator of the day appeared before the multitude of soldiers and citizens in the old South Meeting House and closed his appeal with the following peroration : —

“ But,¹ pardon me my fellow-citizens, I know you want not zeal or fortitude. You will maintain your rights or perish in the generous struggle. However difficult the combat you never will decline it when freedom is the prize. An independence on Great Britain is not our aim. No, our wish is that Great Britain and the colonies may, like the oak and ivy, grow and increase in strength together. But, while the infatuated plan of making one part of the Empire slaves to the other is persisted in, the interest and safety of Britain as well as the colonies require that the wise measure recommended by the honourable the continental Congress be steadily pursued, whereby the unnatural contest between a

¹ Copied from the original MS.

parent honoured and a child beloved may probably be brought to such an issue as that the peace and happiness of both may be established upon a lasting basis. But if the pacific measures are ineffectual and it appears that the only way to safety is through fields of blood, I know you will not turn your faces from your foes, but will undauntedly press forward till tyranny is trodden under foot and you have fixed your adored goddess, Liberty, on the American throne.

“ *You then*, who have nobly espoused your country’s cause, who generously have sacrificed wealth and ease, who have despised the pomp and show of tinseled greatness — refused the summons to the festive board and been deaf to the alluring calls of luxury and mirth, who have forsaken the downy pillow to keep your vigils by the midnight lamp for the salvation of your invaded country that you might break the fowler’s snare and disappointed the vulture of his prey — will reap that harvest of renown which you so nobly have earned. Your country shall pay her grateful tribute of applause. Even the children of your most inveterate enemies, ashamed to tell from where they sprang, while they in secret curse their stupid cruel parents, shall join the general voice of gratitude to those who broke the fetters which their fathers forged.

“ Having redeemed your country and secured the blessing to future generations who, fired by your example, shall emulate your virtues and learn from you the heavenly art of making millions happy, with heart-felt joy, with transports only felt by such as you, you cry the glorious Work is done. Then drop the mantle to some young Elisha and take your seats with kindred spirits in your native sky.”

It was scarce one hundred days later that this little book¹ was taken from his pocket as he lay dead on the field of battle.

¹ The Boke of Psalmes, where in are conteined praiers meditatiōs, praises & thanksgiuīg to God for his benefites towards his Church, traslated faithfully according to the Ebrew.

With brief and apt annotations in the margent afwell for the declaration of the mynde of the Phrophet as for the ioyning together & continuance of the sentence : with two tables the one coteyning the names of the Psalmes according to the ordre of the alphabet & the other concerning the chief pointes of our belief comprehended in common places. Printed at Geneva by Rouland Hall, M.D. LIX.

The fly leaf contains the following memorandum : —

NORTH AMERICA

Taken at y^e Battle of Bunkers Hill, June 17th, 1775, out of Dr. Warren's pocket.

On the reverse of the title-pages is the following inscription : —

"Brought over to England by a private engaged at Bunkers Hill, who said it was taken out of the pocket of Dr. Warren after he was slain in that engagement. Dr. Sam'l Wilton, thinking there was nothing improbable in the story and that somebody might otherwise purchase it and show it in triumph as a spoil taken from a Presbyterian Rebel, gave ten times the worth of it with an intention to send it to America, hoping it may be restored as his gift to surviving relatives, if any such there be, or at least secured from any insult to the memory of the former Possessor." — *Extract from Dr. Wilton's letter of March 18, 1778.*

Sent to the Rev. Wm. Gordon, Roxbury.

Dr. Wilton died April 3, 1778.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

JUNE 1, 1902, TO JUNE 1, 1903.

CASH ACCOUNT.

EXPENDITURES.

JUNE 1, 1902, TO JUNE 1, 1903.

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	.....	\$900.00
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	.....	720.00
Ellen F. Palmer, <i>Clerk</i>	.....	480.00
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	.....	732.00
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	.....	250.00
		<u>\$3,082.00</u>

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	.....	\$316.02
Fuel and ice	.....	241.75
Telephone service	.....	26.81
Police service Sundays	.....	35.50
City of Boston, water tax	.....	40.66
Dennett Bros., 200 cedar posts	.....	32.58
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —		
in removing snow	.....	\$81.00
on grounds, fence, and seats	.....	<u>64.35</u>
		145.35
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses	.....	229.16
		<u>1,067.83</u>
University Press, printing	.....	\$360.01
Secretary's office rent, twelve months	.....	150.00
Postage, stationery, and clerical service	.....	155.90
C. H. Greenleaf & Co., luncheon at the Vendôme	.....	116.00
Henry Mitchell and Suffolk Engraving and Electro-		
typing Company, designing and engraving seal	.....	40.00
American Bank Note Company, altering Diploma		
plate and printing 100 impressions	.....	34.00
Boston Storage Warehouse, rent	.....	7.43
Advertising	.....	5.00
		<u>868.34</u>
		<u>\$5,018.17</u>

INTEREST:—

Bunker Hill National Bank, Discount on Note @ 4½ %	.....	22.50
GRANITE LODGE, Construction Account	.....	17,482.06

BALANCE:—

Income Account	.....	485.60
		<u>\$23,008.33</u>

GRANITE LODGE FUND.

Amount of the Fund, June 1, 1902	\$34,558.82
Interest received during the year	365.59
Transferred from Income Account	334.23
	<u>\$35,258.64</u>

Amount expended during 1901-1903, in constructing the Granite Lodge . . .	\$36,258.64
Amount borrowed on the Association's promissory note at Bunker Hill	

National Bank	1,000.00
	<u>\$35,258.64</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

Debits.	
16. The Monument	\$133,649.83
79. Cash	485.60
99. Granite Lodge	36,258.64
	<u>\$170,394.07</u>

Credits.	
40. Capital	\$133,649.83
60. Income	485.60
62. Granite Lodge Fund	35,258.64
51. Notes Payable	1,000.00
	<u>\$170,394.07</u>

G. ARTHUR HILTON, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1903.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1903, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and securities of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the Investments and of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

JOHN NOBLE }
S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 15, 1903.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1902, TO JUNE 1, 1903.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama	29	Nebraska	80
Arkansas	10	Nevada	4
California	281	New Hampshire	1,191
Colorado	172	New Jersey	906
Connecticut	1,051	New York	3,397
Delaware	46	North Carolina	64
Florida	44	North Dakota	24
Georgia	57	Ohio	607
Idaho	20	Oregon	44
Illinois	908	Pennsylvania	1,579
Indiana	177	Rhode Island	1,061
Iowa	222	South Carolina	22
Kansas	84	South Dakota	51
Kentucky	90	Tennessee	48
Louisiana	30	Texas	72
Maine	1,254	Utah	111
Massachusetts	10,105	Vermont	791
Maryland	185	Virginia	82
Michigan	272	West Virginia	40
Minnesota	212	Washington	63
Mississippi	23	Wisconsin	310
Missouri	265	Wyoming	6
Montana	25		

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Alaska	3	Indian	3
Arizona	15	New Mexico	5
District of Columbia	182	Oklahoma	10

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Africa	4	Mexico	9
Asia	23	New Zealand	4
Australia	14	Norway and Sweden	16
Canada	584	Russia	3
Denmark	2	Sandwich Islands	5
England	127	Scotland	26
Europe	2	Spain	5
France	11	Switzerland	3
Germany	18	South America	10
India	6	Turkey	5
Ireland	28	Wales	3
Italy	1	West Indies	27

From the United States 26,093

From Territories of the United States 218

From Foreign Countries 936

Admitted free of charge 1,101

Total 28,348

Board of Directors
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,
JUNE 17, 1903,
IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER	1855	HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895
CHARLES MERRIAM	1866	RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTON-	
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	STALL	1895
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1868	FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Sec'y</i>)	1896
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	SOLOMON LINCOLN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1896
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE	1874	LINZEE PRESCOTT	1896
HENRY WALKER	1874	GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON (<i>Treasurer</i>)	1897
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER	1875	OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES . .	1897
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL . .	1897
WILLIAM EVERETT	1877	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
EDWARD EVERETT HALE (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1881	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>President</i>)	1897
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN	1882	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH . . .	1897
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON	1898
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	JOHN NOBLE	1899
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH	1885	STEPHEN SALISBURY	1899
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE	1886	JAMES DE NORMANDIE	1900
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNE- WELL	1887	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL . .	1900
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE	1887	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT .	1900
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
JOHN LATHROP	1890	RICHARD DEVENS	1901
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS	1891	GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS . .	1901
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER .	1902
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894	ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS .	1902
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1895	FREDERICK LEWIS GAY . . .	1902
ARTHUR AMORY	1895	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR. .	1902
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH	1903
		CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD .	1903
		CHARLES AMOS CUMMINGS .	1903
		FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER .	1903
		NATHANIEL THAYER	1903

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1903-1904.

WINSLOW WARREN, *President*,
GUSTAVUS ARTHUR HILTON, *Treasurer*, }
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary*, } *Ex Officiis.*
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
SOLOMON LINCOLN.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
JOHN LATHROP.
JOHN NOBLE.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1823.

*JOSEPH STORY.

1824.

*JOHN ADAMS.

*JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

*WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

*PETER CHARDON BROOKS.

*BENJAMIN BUSSEY.

*HENRY DEARBORN.

*WILLIAM EUSTIS.

*CHRISTOPHER GORE.

*WILLIAM GRAY.

*GARDINER GREENE.

*JOHN THORNTON KIRKLAND.

*LAFAYETTE, MARQUIS DE.

*CHARLES LOWELL.

*JOHN LOWELL.

*THEODORE LYMAN.

*JOHN MARSHALL.

*JONATHAN MASON.

*MARCUS MORTON.

*PEREZ MORTON.

*JOSEPH WARREN NEWCOMB.

*RICHARD ENGLISH NEWCOMB.

*HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

*ISAAC PARKER.

*WILLIAM PHILLIPS.

*BENJAMIN PICKMAN.

*WILLIAM PRESCOTT.

*JAMES SULLIVAN.

*ISRAEL THORNDIKE.

*ARNOLD WELLES.

*THOMAS LINDALL WINTHROP.

1825.

*JAMES BARBOUR.

*JOHN CARTER.

*HENRY CLAY.

*DEWITT CLINTON.

*DAVID DAGGETT.

*JOSEPH DESHA.

*JOHN GAILLARD.

*GEORGE GIBBS.

*ROBERT GILMER.

*ANDREW R. GOVAN.

*ROBERT YOUNG HAYNE.

*JOHN HOFFMAN.

*LEONARD JARVIS.

*THOMAS JEFFERSON.

*JAMES KENT.

*GEORGE McDUFFIE.

*JAMES MADISON.

*CHARLES FENTON MERCER.

*JAMES MONROE.

*DAVID LAWRENCE MORRILL.

*ELIJAH PAINE.

*BENJAMIN PEIRCE.

*BERNARD PEYTON.

*DANIEL PUTNAM.

*WILLIAM CLARKE SOMERVILLE.

*SAMUEL SOUTHARD.

*THOMAS TODD.

*GEORGE TUCKER.

*WILLIAM VANCE.

*CHARLES PETER VAN NESS.

*OLIVER WOLCOTT.

1826.

*SIMON BOLIVAR.

1867.		1884.
*GEORGE PEABODY.		*GEORGE BANCROFT.
1869.		1885.
*DAVID GLASCOE FARRAGUT.		*ROBERT CHARLES WINTHROP.
*ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.		1886.
*PHILIP HENRY SHERIDAN.		GROVER CLEVELAND.
*WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.		OLIVER OTIS HOWARD.
*JOHN ANCRUM WINSLOW.		JOHN McALLISTER SCHOFIELD.
1870.		*ALFRED HOWE TERRY.
*JAMES ALDEN.		1887.
*CHARLES HENRY DAVIS.		*THOMAS FRANCIS BAYARD.
*JUDSON KILPATRICK.		*JOHN SHERMAN.
*IRVIN McDOWELL.		1888.
*GEORGE GORDON MEADE.		*GEORGE CROOK.
*DAVID DIXON PORTER.		NELSON APPLETON MILES.
*CHARLES STEEDMAN.		DOUGLAS PUTNAM.
1872.		DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.
*HAMILTON FISH.		1889.
1874.		*BENJAMIN HARRISON.
*GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS.		LEWIS ASHFIELD KIMBERLY.
CARL SCHURZ.		1890.
1876.		*MARIE FRANÇOIS SADI CARNOT.
*OSCAR LAFAYETTE.		1891.
1877.		WHITELAW REID.
*RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES.	*EDWARD JOHN PHELPS.	*JOHN LORIMER WORDEN.
*DOM PEDRO.	*HENRY WADSWORTH SLOCUM.	1892.
1878.		1893.
*GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.	*EMILIO CASTELAR.	
1880.	MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.	
*AMBROSE EVERETT BURNSIDE.	HORACE PORTER.	
*WILLIAM MAXWELL EVARTS.		1894.
*GEORGE BRINTON McCLELLAN.	ANDREW ELICOTT KENNEDY	
1882.	BENHAM.	
*WINFIELD SCOTT HANCOCK.		1895.
JOSEPH ROSWELL HAWLEY.		GASTON DE SAHUNE DE LAFAYETTE.
*EDMOND DE LAFAYETTE.		1897.
*MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU.		*WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

A.

Francis Ellingwood Abbot.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
Ebenezer Alexander.
Charles Allen.
Charles Hastings Allen.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
Nathan Appleton.
William Appleton.
Burtis Lacy Arbecam.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Edward Atkinson.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.

Luther Clough Bailey.
Peter Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Eben Francis Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
James Madison Barker.
John George Barker.
Edmund Johnson Barnard.
Samuel June Barrows.
Nelson Bartlett.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
James Henry Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Albert Decatur Spaulter Bell.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Charles Vose Bemis.
Josiah Henry Benton, Jr.
William Emery Bicknell.
Wilmon Wheildon Blackmar.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel Parkman Blake.
Joshua Peter Bodfish.
Joel Carlton Bolan.
Charles Knowles Bolton.
Walter Lincoln Bouvé.
Charles Pickering Bowditch.

Henry Pickering Bowditch.
 George Gardner Bradford.
 Martin Luther Bradford.
 William Burroughs Bradford.
 Frank Eliot Bradish.
 Henry Willard Bragg.
 John Summerfield Brayton.
 Frank Brewster.
 John Franklin Briry.
 Alfred Mansfield Brooks.
 Charles Butler Brooks.
 Edward Brooks.
 Lawrence Brooks.
 Peter Chardon Brooks.
 Shepherd Brooks.
 Francis Henry Brown.
 George Edward Brown.
 Gilbert Patten Brown.
 Howard Nicholson Brown.
 Joseph Henry Brown.
 Louis Francis Brown.
 Thomas Quincy Browne.
 Frederick Alexander Bucking-
 ham.
 George Greenleaf Bulfinch.
 Augustus George Bullock.
 George Henry Burr.
 Charles Favour Byam.
 Charles Ruthven Byram.

C.

Arthur Tracy Cabot.
 Louis Cabot.
 Joseph Caldwell.
 Joseph Henry Caldwell.
 George Hylands Campbell.
 Rufus George Frederick Candage.
 John Capen.

Guy Edward Carleton.
 William Dudley Carleton.
 William Edward Carleton.
 Frederick Bunker Carpenter.
 Samuel Carr.
 Charles Theodore Carruth.
 Henry Horatio Chandler.
 Edward Channing.
 George Francis Chapin.
 Charles Augustus Chase.
 William Franklin Cheney.
 Charles Greenough Chick.
 Munroe Chickering.
 Charles Francis Choate.
 William Worcester Churchill.
 William Clafin.
 Arthur Tirrell Clark.
 David Oakes Clark.
 Robert Farley Clark.
 George Kuhn Clarke.
 Charles Warren Clifford.
 Arthur Bruce Coburn.
 Charles Henry Coburn.
 Charles Russell Codman.
 Rufus Coffin.
 Harrison Gray Otis Colby.
 Benjamin Battelle Converse.
 David Hill Coolidge.
 Ernest Hall Coolidge.
 Frederic Austin Coolidge.
 George Augustin Coolidge.
 Thomas Jefferson Coolidge.
 John Joseph Copp.
 George Franklin Crafts.
 Edwin Sanford Crandon.
 George Glover Crocker.
 George Uriel Crocker.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Stephen Moody Crosby.

Charles Amos Cummings.

Prentiss Cummings.

Henry Winchester Cunningham.

Charles Pelham Curtis.

John Silsbee Curtis.

Frederic Haines Curtiss.

Elbridge Gerry Cutler.

Henry Clark Cutter.

D.

Lewis Stackpole Dabney.

William Johnson Dale.

John Stanhope Damrell.

James Dana.

Richard Henry Dana.

Thomas Dana.

Allen Danforth.

Henry William Daniell.

George Allen Dary.

Andrew McFarland Davis.

Horace Davis.

John George Dearborn.

Henry Beals Dennison.

Henry Gardner Denny.

Joseph Waldo Denny.

James De Normandie.

Arthur Lithgow Devens.

Richard Devens.

Franklin Dexter.

Gordon Dexter.

Philip Dexter.

William Sohier Dexter.

Marquis Fayette Dickinson.

Pitt Dillingham.

Charles Healy Ditson.

Horace Dodd.

Charles Acton Drew.

Edward Livingston Drown.

Loren Griswold Du Bois.

Edward Howard Dunn.

Henry Dorr Dupee.

Theodore Francis Dwight.

Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.

Henry Herbert Edes.

Robert Thaxter Edes.

Horace Albert Edgecomb.

George Davis Edmands.

Moses Grant Edmands.

Thomas Franklin Edmands.

James Eells.

Arthur Blake Ellis.

Ephraim Emerton.

Eugene Francis Endicott.

William Endicott.

Carl Wilhelm Ernst.

William Tracy Eustis.

Edward Everett.

Percival Lowell Everett.

William Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.

Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.

Henry Parker Fairbanks.

William Kendall Fairbanks.

Augustus Alanson Fales.

Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.

Horace Newton Fisher.

Worthington Chauncey Ford.

Alfred Dwight Foster.

Francis Apthorp Foster.

Francis Charles Foster.

John Andrews Fox.

Alden Frink.

Henry Adams Frothingham.
 John Whipple Frothingham.
 Paul Revere Frothingham.
 Richard Frothingham.
 Thomas Goddard Frothingham.
 Charles Emerson Fuller.
 John Kuhn Fuller.

G.

Arthur Morton Gardner.
 Frederick Lewis Gay.
 Daniel Dudley Gilbert.
 Charles Snelling Gill.
 George Lincoln Goodale.
 Abner Cheney Goodell.
 Elbridge Henry Goss.
 Benjamin Apthorp Gould.
 Robert Grant.
 Charles Montraville Green.
 Joseph Foster Green.
 Robert Montraville Green.
 Samuel Abbott Green.
 Samuel Swett Green.
 William Prescott Greenlaw.
 Henry Sturgis Grew.
 William Elliot Griffis.
 Charles Edward Grinnell.
 Curtis Guild.

H.

Edward Hale.
 Edward Everett Hale.
 Josiah Little Hale.
 Richard Warren Hale.
 Robert Sever Hale.
 Edward Henry Hall.
 Franklin Austin Hall.
 Thomas Hills Hall.
 Norwood Penrose Hallowell.

Charles Sumner Hamlin.
 Henry Mason Harper.
 Walter Léo Harrington.
 Charles Harris.
 Samuel Tibbets Harris.
 Thaddeus William Harris.
 Thomas Norton Hart.
 William Henry Hart.
 Edwin Bradbury Haskell.
 Henry Hastings.
 Albert Fearing Hayden.
 Henry Williamson Haynes.
 Frank Conant Hayward.
 John Theodore Heard.
 Augustus Hemenway.
 Joseph Putnam Bradlee
 Henshaw.
 Philip Hichborn.
 William Hichborn.
 Henry Lee Higginson.
 Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
 James Frederic Hill.
 Joseph Warren Hill.
 William Henry Hill.
 Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
 Samuel Parker Hinckley.
 George Miller Hobbs.
 Joshua Bennett Holden.
 Amos Leander Hollingsworth.
 Charles Bradley Holman.
 Oliver Wendell Holmes.
 Franklin Hopkins.
 Edward Augustus Horton.
 Clement Stevens Houghton.
 Archibald Murray Howe.
 Osborne Howes.
 Edwin Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.

Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Richard Clapp Humphreys.
 James Frothingham Hunnewell.
 Israel Thorndike Hunt.
 George Frederick Hurd.
 Francis William Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.
 George Hyde.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
 George Brimmer Inches.
 William Ingalls.

J.

Thomas Hart Benton James.
 Henry Percy Jaques.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Wolcott Howe Johnson.
 Edward Jenkins Jones.
 Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.

K.

Edward Albert Kelly.
 Martin Parry Kennard.
 John Kent.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.
 Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.

David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Arthur Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Solomon Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 John Summerfield Lindsay.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Rhodes Lockwood.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.

Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 Charles Gustavus Lundell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
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 Henry Ware Lyon.

M.

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 William Russell Morse.
 Anthony Smith Morss.
 Marcus Morton.
 James Madison Morton.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Edward Augustus Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.
 Frederick Strong Moseley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.

N.
 Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Sereno Dwight Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 John Noble, Jr.
 Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 John Oscar Norris.
 Charles Eliot Norton.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 Francis Augustus Osborn.
 William Newton Osgood.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
 Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Robert Treat Paine.
 John Gorham Palfrey.
 Eben Francis Parker.
 Francis Jewett Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.
 Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 Francis Howard Peabody.
 Henry Wayland Peabody.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Frederick Pease.

James Mills Peirce.	George Lincoln Richardson.
Charles Sherburne Penhallow.	Parker Jones Richardson.
Alvah Henry Peters.	Spencer Welles Richardson.
Frederick George Pettigrove.	Thomas Oren Richardson.
Frederick Bacon Philbrook.	William Lambert Richardson.
Stephen Willard Phillips.	Peter Stillings Roberts.
Edward Charles Pickering.	Edward Blake Robins.
Henry Pickering.	William Robinson.
Dudley Leavitt Pickman.	Gorham Rogers.
Phineas Pierce.	James Hardy Ropes.
Wallace Lincoln Pierce.	George Ibison Ross.
Albert Enoch Pillsbury.	George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
Edwin Lake Pillsbury.	John Edwards Russell.
William Taggard Piper.	Thomas Russell.
Edward Marwick Plummer.	William Augustus Russell.
George Sanger Poole.	Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
Arnold Augustus Rand.
Edward Melvin Raymond.
Charles French Read.
Reuben Law Reed.
Joseph Warren Revere.
James Ford Rhodes.
William Ball Rice.
William Reuben Richards.
Gedney King Richardson.

George Lincoln Richardson.	S.
Parker Jones Richardson.	Stephen Salisbury.
Spencer Welles Richardson.	Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
Thomas Oren Richardson.	Calvin Proctor Sampson.
William Lambert Richardson.	Oscar Hallet Sampson.
Peter Stillings Roberts.	George Augustus Sanderson.
Edward Blake Robins.	Charles William Sawyer.
William Robinson.	Clifford Denio Sawyer.
Gorham Rogers.	Edward Keyes Sawyer.
James Hardy Ropes.	George Sawyer.
George Ibison Ross.	Timothy Thompson Sawyer.
George Howard Malcolm Rowe.	Timothy Thompson Sawyer, Jr.
John Edwards Russell.	Warren Sawyer.
Thomas Russell.	James Schouler.
William Augustus Russell.	Joseph Henry Sears.
Nathaniel Johnson Rust.	Joshua Montgomery Sears.

George Ibison Ross.	Henry Dwight Sedgwick.
George Howard Malcolm Rowe.	Thomas Oliver Selfridge, Jr.
John Edwards Russell.	Henry Shaw.
Thomas Russell.	Henry Southworth Shaw.
William Augustus Russell.	Reuben Sherburne.

Thomas Sherwin.
 William Stearns Simmons.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Dennison Rogers Slade.
 Charles Card Smith.
 Charles Francis Smith.
 Franklin Webster Smith.
 Frank Langdon Smith.
 Sidney Leroy Smith.
 Jeremiah Smith.
 Charles Armstrong Snow.
 Emery Souther.
 Robert Alexander Southworth.
 Arthur John Clark Sowdon.
 Leonard Chauncey Spinney.
 Henry Harrison Sprague.
 Benjamin Franklin Stacey.
 Myles Standish.
 Henry Porter Stanwood.
 Carlton Albert Staples.
 Charles Henry Stearns.
 Roderick Stebbins.
 Benjamin Franklin Stevens.
 Horace Holley Stevens.
 Solon Whithed Stevens.
 Edwin Albert Stone.
 Moorfield Storey.
 Augustus Whittemore Stover.
 Willis Whittemore Stover.
 Francis Stowell.
 John Stowell.
 John Henry Studley.
 Charles Herbert Swan.
 Francis Henry Swan.
 William Willard Swan.
 Frank Eliot Sweetser.
 Isaac Homer Sweetser.
 Lindsay Swift.

T.
 Thomas French Temple.
 George Thacher.
 John Eliot Thayer.
 Nathaniel Thayer.
 Washington Butcher Thomas.
 Abraham Rand Thompson.
 John Thompson.
 John Larkin Thorndike.
 Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
 James Brown Thornton.
 Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
 Amos Kendall Tilden.
 Frank Todd.
 James Pike Tolman.
 Everett Torrey.
 David Howard Tribou.
 Washington Benson Trull.
 George Fox Tucker.
 George Frederick Tufts.
 Henry Augustus Turner.
 John Turner.
 John Franklin Turner.
 Julius Herbert Tuttle.
 Alexander Stevenson Twombly.
 Edward Royall Tyler.

U.

William Phineas Upham.

V.

Frederic Henry Viaux.
 Frank Vose.

W.

Freeman Andrew Walker.
 Henry Walker.
 Henshaw Bates Walley.

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|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Eugene Wambaugh. | James Clarke White. |
| Frank Edwards Warner. | Albert Turner Whiting. |
| Joseph Bangs Warner. | William Austin Whiting. |
| Charles Warren. | William Whitman. |
| Henry Lee Jaques Warren. | David Rice Whitney. |
| John Warren. | James Lyman Whitney. |
| John Collins Warren. | George Clark Whittemore. |
| Joseph Warren. | Henry Whittemore. |
| Lucius Henry Warren. | Albert Rufus Whittier. |
| Nathan Warren. | George Wigglesworth. |
| William Fairfield Warren. | Arthur Walter Willard. |
| Winslow Warren. | Luke Putnam Willard. |
| Walter Kendall Watkins. | Levi Lincoln Willett. |
| Horace Herbert Watson. | William Lithgow Willey. |
| Winslow Charles Watson. | Charles Herbert Williams. |
| Charles Goddard Weld. | Edward Henry Williams. |
| Stephen Minot Weld. | George Frederick Williams. |
| Frederick Augustus Wellington. | Henry Dudley Williams. |
| Arthur Holbrook Wellman. | Moses Williams. |
| Joshua Wyman Wellman. | Robert Breck Williams. |
| Samuel Wells. | John Boynton Wilson. |
| Barrett Wendell. | Albert Edward Winship. |
| David Brainard Weston. | Erving Winslow. |
| Alexander Strong Wheeler. | Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. |
| Henry Wheeler. | Robert Mason Winthrop. |
| Horace Leslie Wheeler. | Roger Wolcott. |
| Andrew Cunningham
Wheelwright. | Samuel Huntington Wolcott. |
| Edmund March Wheelwright. | William Prescott Wolcott. |
| William Gleason Wheildon. | Stephen Foster Woodman. |
| Bradlee Whidden. | Henry Ernest Woods. |
| Renton Whidden. | Henry Frank Woods. |
| Stephen Hampden Whidden. | George Wellman Wright. |
| Edwin Augustus White. | |
| George Warner White. | |

Y.

Edward James Young.



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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
1905



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION

1905



PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT
ASSOCIATION
AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

JUNE 17, 1905

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY THE ASSOCIATION
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PROCEEDINGS.

THE ANNUAL MEETING of the BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION was held at the Hotel Vendôme on Saturday, June 17, 1905, at 10 o'clock in the morning. The Vice-President, Dr. J. COLLINS WARREN, presided, in the absence of the President, Honorable WINSLOW WARREN.

Prayer was offered by Reverend LEWIS WILDER HICKS, of Wellesley.

The Records of the last Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The Annual Address of the President, Honorable WINSLOW WARREN, was read by Mr. CHARLES F. REED, a Member of the Society.

On motion of Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS the following resolution was unanimously passed :

The close of an eight years' term as presiding officer of this Society, on the part of one who has ever shown himself deeply imbued with an appreciative sense of the moral to be drawn from the work in which we are engaged, and whose service in our behalf has been a constant instruction as to the influence in favor of good government, which the historical memories

perpetuated by the monument at Bunker Hill indirectly exert upon the community, calls for some expression of our appreciation of this service and of our gratitude for the manner in which it has been performed.

The silent shaft entrusted to our care stands for a memorial of the struggles endured by others through which we are enabled to enjoy the privilege of self-government. That shaft in its majestic simplicity recalls the narrow circumstances and the high resolves of those who, by the sacrifice of their lives, made memorable the field on which it stands and made possible the continuous prosperity which their successors have enjoyed. Day by day it sends forth its mute appeal to all of us to bear in mind the issue at stake on the Seventeenth of June, 1775, and calls upon us to realize that self-government to be of value must be based upon the good citizenship of the individual man.

This in substance is what WINSLOW WARREN has from year to year preached to us. In recognition of the faithful and devoted manner in which he has administered the functions of his office and of his still greater service in setting before us what we may fitly term the lesson of the Monument, we hereby resolve:

That the thanks of the Society be tendered to our retiring President, WINSLOW WARREN, and that this resolve, together with the foregoing statement, be spread upon the records of the Society and a copy of the same be forwarded to him.

Mr. CHARLES GREENOUGH CHICK delivered an address on "Reminiscences of the Day we Celebrate."

Dr. JAMES BOURNE AYER made remarks on "Boston at the Time of the Battle of Bunker Hill."

The Secretary communicated a letter written by Honorable TIMOTHY T. SAWYER, for fifty years a director of the Association, together with proof sheets of an

article written by him for the current number of the *Charlestown Enterprise*.

The following resolution was offered by Mr. HENRY HERBERT EDES and was unanimously adopted :

The members of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, assembled in Annual Meeting, wish to record an expression of their pleasure in greeting the Honorable TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER, the senior member of the Board of Directors, who today completes fifty consecutive years of service, and of their earnest hope that the Association may long enjoy the benefit of his counsel and the felicity of his fellowship.

The Treasurer presented his Annual Report, with the Report of the Auditors. They were severally accepted and ordered to be placed on file.

On motion of Reverend JAMES DE NORMANDIE, D.D., the following resolution was passed :

Resolved, That the Association has learned with regret that Mr. HILTON has declined to be again a candidate for re-election to the office of Treasurer.

Resolved, That in reluctantly acceding to his request to be excused from further service the Association takes occasion to express to Mr. HILTON its grateful appreciation of his sagacious and faithful administration of the Treasury during the past seven years.

It was voted that the Addresses of the PRESIDENT, Mr. CHICK, and Dr. AYER, and the Letter of Mr. SAWYER, be referred to the Standing Committee for printing as in previous years.

The Association then elected as Resident Members the persons who had been recommended by the Standing Committee.

Messrs. EDES, THORNDIKE, and NOBLE were appointed by the Chair a Nominating Committee, and at their suggestion the officers named on page 11 were elected by ballot for the ensuing year.

The Secretary announced the receipt of a telegraphic message from the Bunker Hill Association of San Francisco, in session in that city, and he was directed to return a suitable reply.

The Annual Meeting of the Association was then dissolved.

OFFICERS.

President.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN.

Vice-Presidents.

*The President of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association
ex officio.*

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS. SOLOMON LINCOLN.
EDWARD EVERETT HALE. WINSLOW WARREN.

Treasurer.

FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN.

Secretary.

FRANCIS HENRY BROWN.

Directors.

ARTHUR AMORY.
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER.
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH.
HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH.
EDWARD BROOKS.
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE.
CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM.
HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER.
CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD.
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN.
CHARLES AMOS CUMMINGS.
ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS.
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS.
WILLIAM ENDICOTT.
WILLIAM EVERETT.
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS.
FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER.
FREDERICK LEWIS GAY.
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES.
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNEWELL.

HENRY FITCH JENKS.
DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL.
JOHN LATHROP.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE.
GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT.
THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP.
FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL.
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN.
CHARLES MERRIAM.
JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR.
JOHN NOBLE.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
LINZEE PRESCOTT.
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND.
STEPHEN SALISBURY.
RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTONSTALL.
TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER.
MOORFIELD STOREY.
NATHANIEL THAYER.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.
HENRY WALKER.
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN.
GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

A D D R E S S.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

IT is again a matter of regret to me that I am unable to join with the Association at its annual meeting, and especially so that I feel constrained to decline a renomination to its Presidency — but absence will not lessen my interest, nor my belief that all such patriotic societies make for the bettering of our national life and for the encouragement of a genuine spirit of Americanism. The year that has passed has brought no losses to our Board of Directors or Standing Committee, and the membership of the Association continues large and inspiring in character. The Monument and grounds around it have been well cared for, and the large number of visitors have appreciated the beauty and convenience of the new Lodge. The small indebtedness at the last meeting has been paid off from current receipts, and the Treasurer shows a small balance on hand. At an early date it will be necessary to thoroughly repoint the Monument, and this will be a considerable burden upon our receipts, and emphasizes my former suggestion that a permanent fund of reasonable amount would be a great advantage to us, not only in meeting unusual expenses, but in enabling us to properly furnish the Lodge and secure the deposit there of memorials connected with the Revolution.

In my last annual address I occupied your time with a consideration of the origin and meaning of the Declaration of Independence and its earlier and later interpretation. I had hoped this year to have gone further with a cognate subject not inappropriate to the day, and to have considered how

naturally the Constitution of the United States grew out of the Declaration, and how, by a comparison of minds and a harmonizing of conflicting interests, the principles of the Declaration in their essential elements were embodied in an instrument wonderfully adapted to a Republican system of government, and which has stood the strain of over a century's test. The original principles were novel and based upon high ideals, and it was a hazardous experiment to attempt a written Constitution, which in the changing conditions of the country should be permanent. The wonderful growth of the Nation and the loss of its original homogeneity have unquestionably compelled liberal interpretations of some clauses of the Constitution and a construction now and then in the settlement of political and economical questions somewhat removed from the original idea of its framers ; but the wonder is that even thus it could have remained so long practically unaltered, and yet suffice for the needs of the country. Of all the great deeds of the Fathers, the accomplishment of this appears to me perhaps the greatest. The Constitution is a human instrument, not to be made a fetich of, and yet it must be revered, after all this lapse of time, as the embodiment of wisdom and principles which have worked remarkably well, and for which no one yet has found an acceptable substitute. But the wide scope of the subject demands more time and study than I can now give to it, and I can only suggest it as a worthy theme for some future speaker in connection with the events this day commemorates.

Turning to the happenings of our own day, in no one year has a greater change come over the world than in the rise of the new empire of the East, which may remodel that part of the world, and certainly gives the Western world food for thought in furnishing much that can be well imitated and adopted by our so-called superior civilization. The final issue of the great struggle between Japan and Russia cannot yet be

safely predicted, but some of its consequences are already apparent. The convulsions in Russia seem to be leading that oppressed people to greater political and religious freedom, and even to threaten the existence of the present dynasty, while Japan has assumed a leadership in the East which she is likely to retain, and which must place her hereafter among the great nations of the earth. To all Christian peoples there is cause for reflection in the fact that a self-governing and self-developed nation, not Christian by name, if not heathen, should have shown beyond its superb military administration, devoted patriotism and courage, beyond its unmatched skill in its surgical and medical departments and in the management of all the details of the art of war, a morality in its camps, a humanity in its soldiers, a generosity towards its conquered foes, and a comparative freedom from the usual vices of war, which, measured by any standards yet set up, seem far in advance.

The civilization which has been the boast of the West can show nothing finer than this product of the East. What it all portends in the future, should Japan prove victor in the struggle, none can predict; but I see no cause for fear of what is termed "the yellow peril." A peril it may prove to nations of the West, who covet their neighbors' possessions in the East, and would fain grasp that to which they have no right; but if it should, that can be borne with equanimity. It may result in bringing home to ourselves the criminal folly of our treatment of the Chinese and similar races, but if the lesson proves distasteful, it will not be undeserved and may lead us to a higher and more really Christian statesmanship. The rise of a nation with qualities such as Japan has shown need cause no fear nor doubt to nations which mind their own business and deal justly and honorably with other peoples; of course it is quite possible that a change in business relations may result, a great competing nation with unusual mechanical

skill and foresight may alter and modify the channels of trade; but nations have risen and fallen before, and the world adapts itself to changing conditions. The fear of a new world-conquering power, with a mission to spread by force its peculiar form of civilization, appears utterly inconsistent with the traits of character or the present ideas of the Japanese people.

The whole matter remains the modern miracle, commanding the deepest thought and study of the Western world.

All else in the events of the year seems tame by comparison —yet there is much of interest. In the face of this most tremendous and bloody war, the cause of universal peace has not lost ground—it may actually have been helped by the calamities and horrors we have witnessed. The greatest optimist does not expect that wars will be banished from the earth —human passions and ambitions are too great to expect that happy consummation, yet their horrors may be greatly mitigated, their frequency be lessened, and the rights of noncombatants to protection and property be more carefully preserved.

The great peace congress recently held in this city, the Hague conferences, the establishment of a permanent Hague tribunal, are hopeful signs; and it is certainly a subject of congratulation that for so long a time the peace of Europe has been undisturbed, and largely through the admirable policy and earnest efforts of the present King of England, whose extensive influence has been so wisely used for the promotion of peace and kindly feeling between nations.

Our own country has passed quietly through its quadrennial election, and the result has been eminently satisfactory to much the largest part of our people. A President of undoubted character, ability, and strength has been entrusted with a mission to lead our people forward to yet higher aims and to promote the peace and stability of the Republic.

If any cloud appears, it can come only from our own assertiveness in our dealings with our neighbors.

The principle called the Monroe Doctrine, which Monroe and Adams stated with a great degree of moderation, has been extended in its scope, so as to have almost lost its original meaning, and if it now amounts to an overlordship over this Western hemisphere, it undoubtedly carries with it new and tremendous responsibilities and great capacity for future trouble. How far we are committed now, or may be committed in the future, to this advanced construction, remains for the people to determine, and plainly, how far such an assertion can be reconciled with an assumption of powers and responsibility in the East in countries naturally outside of our sphere of influence.

This situation evidently offers opportunity for wise statesmanship and careful consideration, for to the minds of many of us the growth and power of the Nation seem to have taken away the cause of fear we originally had in the possible danger of European powers obtaining a foothold upon this continent. Certainly no foreign nation would now dream of seeking cause for war with the United States, and there is very little of the territory of South America, in case of an occupation by a foreign power, that is not farther away from us than any of the nations of Europe now are. Our best real defence against foreign aggression is a just, honest, and fair policy, which shall seek no lands to conquer, but shall expend its energy in building up at home a strong government free from corruption and devoted to the arts of peace, though prepared for war if forced upon it.

One of the most unaccountable developments of the time is the marked social unrest in our great cities; if this be not the result of unrestricted foreign immigration, it would seem to point to an un-American habit of thought which indicates a great change coming over our people. Strikes and labor

agitations have become so frequent that business interests and public peace are alike imperilled. Some remedy must be found that such disputes shall be settled with justice but without this constant disorder. The lesson must be learned and impressed upon all to whom official responsibility is imposed that the individual is to be protected in his rights by all the powers of city, state, and nation, and that it is chaos for a people to allow private quarrels to interfere with the public peace. Upon questions of tariff, or currency, or economics, men may honestly differ; they may not think alike upon the cause and cure of corruption in our polities, but no difference of opinion can exist in a free Republic as to the duty of preserving the public peace at all hazards.

The laws to prevent interference with public travel, with public health and public safety, can hardly be made too stringent. The rise of powerful and often corrupt trade combinations, the vast increase of wealth and the frequent misuse of power and influence it brings with it, has brought us face to face with new social forces and novel and important political and economical questions; but if our theory of government is sound, they can be settled by American methods, without resort to those of the old world. If the peaceful ballot cannot determine them, our Republic is a failure. Societies such as this Bunker Hill Monument Association, imbued with the spirit of our institutions, should be a helpful agency to counteract the evils of ignorance and corruption, and to check the impulses and actions of all who are so forgetful, or so ill acquainted with the meaning of true Republicanism, that they would allow the country to drift into a dangerous condition of lawlessness and anarchy. While the watchword may not be "Put none but Americans on guard," it must be "Put only men with the spirit of Americanism on guard and let them be forever on the watch."

• ADDRESS

OF

CHARLES GREENOUGH CHICK, ESQUIRE.

REMINISCENCES OF THE DAY WE CELEBRATE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

WE do well to come together on this Seventeenth day of June and review those great deeds of our fathers which broke the bonds tending to restrain their enterprise, and gave them freedom to develop a new and resourceful country. It is well for us to get the inspiration that comes from a consideration of the devotion to principle and the love of country shown by our sires one hundred and thirty or more years ago.

Do we appreciate the fact that at that time the town of Boston was little more than a country village of the present age? She had about fifteen thousand inhabitants, and was surrounded by several smaller towns,—Dedham, Milton, Cambridge, Medford, and Salem, her neighbor having a good harbor. Manufactures were scarce; fishing and farming predominated.

England, in her course, was determined to so control her colony that it must purchase all manufactured articles from the home country. How far or how long she would have succeeded, had she abandoned her attempts at internal taxation, is an uncertain question.

The long struggle to compel the colonies to pay taxes of various kinds led to non-importation agreements, with efforts at manufactures here, which in a short time nearly ruined British trade in America. In all of this contention Boston

stood in the forefront. It was here that James Otis assailed the constitutionality of writs of assistance in a masterly argument in the old Town House. It was here that Samuel Adams, on March 6, 1770, demanded that both regiments of British troops be removed to the Castle, and they went. It was here that, failing in every effort to have the East India company's tea returned to England, the people gathered and threw it into the harbor; and here a judge had been compelled to resign for refusing to go on with court business without stamps.

The spirit of the colonists was such that in May, 1766, Governor Hutchinson said, "We are in such a state here that nothing short of armed force in every colony could have carried the Stamp Act into execution. Nor do I believe the people will ever submit to internal taxes."

Boston having destroyed the tea, Parliament was swift to administer punishment. December 16, 1773, was Boston's Tea Party. On March 18, 1774, a vote was passed in Parliament closing her port from Nahant to Point Allerton, this to take effect on June first, then next. No skiff or boat of any kind was to be allowed to approach her wharves, except those whose duty it was to enforce the act.

In this condition Boston appealed, through her Committee of Correspondence, to her sister colonies for assistance and support. Paul Revere, her trusted messenger, went through Connecticut, New York, and on to Philadelphia, and brought back words of encouragement. They would assist to the last extremity. Measures were set on foot for a Congress of the Colonies and for furnishing Boston's poor with food. Tens of thousands of bushels of grain, hundreds of sheep and cattle were sent by sister colonies to their relief. In fact, in the early part of 1775 the whole country from Georgia to New Hampshire was actively supporting Boston by word and deed. Her condition at that time was pitiable.

The *Boston Gazette* of October 17, 1774, thus describes it :

"Upwards of five months have expired since this devoted town experienced all the horrors of the Port Bill; and as if these were not sufficient to satiate the malice of our enemies, severities which that act, vengeful as it is, did not know of, have been grafted upon it. Many instances might be mentioned; suffice it to say that a scow, with boards and old iron, has been seized in a mill pond and libelled in an admiralty court; a boat owned by one Stewart, with sand for our floors has been taken in the Harbor, and the sand thrown into the sea without the form of a trial, as was a lighter load of hay coming up from Braintree. The produce of the Islands near the town has not been suffered to be taken off; and a float carrying sheep to feed on one of those islands has been obliged to carry them back again. Bread, meal and other provisions were not suffered to pass the little ferry to Charlestown, and their ferry boats have been taken and detained for daring to attempt a passage after nine o'clk at night. Our numerous poor are suffering by the rise of wood, butter, cheese and other provisions not permitted to be brought up as usual from the little rivers and bays in our harbor, and when our tyrants have been expostulated with for these illegal proceedings they have insultingly replied that agreeable to the Act of Parliament it was to distress us; and this their intention has been so effectually accomplished that it may be affirmed without exaggeration, the loss this town has sustained within only a month of our blockade, exceeds the whole amount of those generous donations received from our sympathizing friends through the continent. Added to all this our town is surrounded with ships of war; and it is said the fleet at New Foundland are to winter in this harbor. Formidable fortifications are erected and others erecting at the only avenue to the Town; chains and chevaux-de-frise already provided to stop up the entrance at pleasure; four reg'ts encamped on the Common with large train of artillery and mattockes, one Reg't on Fort Hill, one on the new fortifications on the Neck, and another at Castle William; Three companies just arrived in the Rose Man of War from New Foundland two transports dispatched some time past to New York for two Reg'ts from thence and the Jerseys and to Quebec for two Regts. from that quarter; Military stores and implements of all kinds are collect-

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ing in this town which has now the appearance of a garrison. Reports are propagated here that the English papers announce, that six more regts. are coming from Europe. What may be the intention of all this and what ought to be the conduct of this and other Provinces upon so alarming occasion we shall not pretend to say. This capital is a spectacle to them and to the whole world; a striking example of what is to be expected from the uncontrollable power claimed by a British Parliament over these Colonies that have not a single Representative in it. But under all these terrors, Boston has not as yet renounced the great common cause for which it suffers."

These conditions continued through the winter of '74-'75, food and fuel scarce; but by the efforts of Samuel Adams and his associates upon the Committee of Correspondence, the other English colonies in America were kept in close sympathy with Massachusetts. No opportunity was lost to impress the fact that the cause of Boston was the cause of all.

You may read in the proceedings of each colony, upon the receipt of news of the Port Bill, how thoroughly this lesson had been learned. Boston must not be left to sink under the oppression of the ministry, lest all share her fate.

The then existing conditions could not continue. The tension between citizen and "redcoat" was too great. Something must break.

It came April 19, 1775, when General Gage sent his troops to Concord to destroy stores. They went out without intention of an extended stay; only one day's rations were taken and about thirty rounds of ammunition. I can readily believe that British troops were never more surprised than they by their reception and the events of that day. They were astonished by the methods of attack. Letters from officers and soldiers, after the battles, say it was impossible to get the provincials to stand for an attack; that they appeared in squads of about ten men, and would disappear in the wood and fire from behind trees, walls, and fences; that the king's

troops were surrounded by some said six thousand and others said forty thousand men. In view of these statements, it is apparent that the minute men must have been very active.

It is not for me to speak upon this battle. It was the opening scene; the die had been cast. Messengers hurried north and south. An army was to be raised. Thirty thousand men were called for. Massachusetts was to furnish 13,600; New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut the rest. Would they do it? It seems that the Committee of Safety had some misgivings as to Connecticut, and a strong address was prepared and forwarded to Governor Trumbull, urging the necessity of united action. The response was such as was wished.

Now we have the Massachusetts Colony in open rebellion and a war with Great Britain upon her hands. The astuteness of her statesmen in drawing and holding the whole country to her support is admirable. When General Gage's troops re-entered Boston they were not to be allowed to go out again by land.

A glance at the military resources of the colony will show how desperate was the undertaking. I give a list of these as taken from the returns of nearly all towns in the several counties of Massachusetts and Maine, April 14, 1775:—

Fire-arms	21,549
Pounds of powder	17,444
Pounds of lead balls	22,191
Number of flints	144,699
Bayonets	10,108
Pouches	11,979

Besides these there were in town stocks:—

Fire-arms	68
Barrels of powder	357
Pounds of lead balls	66,781
Number of flints	100,531

The men who surrounded Boston after Lexington came in homespun and armed with all kinds of weapons. Regiments came in largely without fire-arms. We have accounts of several persons asking for a colonel's commission.

Colonel Glover led ten companies of 505 men, only three-fourths with effective fire-arms; Col. David Brewer, nine companies of 465 men, 307 with arms; Colonel Woodbridge, eight companies, 354 men, 273 with arms; Colonel Little, eight companies, 509 men, all with arms and 382 with bayonets; Col. Jonathan Brewer, eight companies, 397 men, 302 with arms.

To meet this lack of fire-arms several counties were placed under a proportionate levy, and each town required to turn in to its selectmen a specified number of fire-arms with bayonets as far as possible. Worcester County was to furnish 514, and the various towns apportioned, from Royalston 2 to Brookfield 31; Hampshire, 334; 26 from Springfield; Suffolk, 49, as follows: Wrentham, 26; Medway, 10; Bellingham, 6; Walpole, 4; Medfield, 4; Boston was shut up, and the Suffolk towns surrounding were all in arms; Middlesex, 102; Plymouth, 41; Bristol, 25,—making a total of 1,065.

These were to be turned over to the Committee of Safety; and the record shows that several towns at least met the demand, and the arms were valued at from about one to three pounds each.

It is interesting to note that the population of Worcester County in '76 was 46,763; Essex, 51,952; Middlesex, 40,821; while Suffolk was only 28,101,—the population of the whole State being 349,094, 5,249 of whom were blacks.

With this hasty review of the conditions surrounding the fathers one hundred and thirty years ago, let us see more closely the events of the day we celebrate.

Boston was then held by General Gage with several thousand British veterans. From Roxbury to Medford it was

surrounded by about thirteen thousand provincials from the colonies of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire. No further incursion into the country was to be allowed.

On June 12 General Gage issued his memorable proclamation offering pardon to all except John Hancock and Samuel Adams, and of which Abigail Adams said:—

“All the records of time cannot produce a blacker page. Satan when driven from the region of bliss exhibited no more malice; surely the father of lies is superseded, yet we think it the best proclamation he could have made.”

There was impatience for action. Putnam and Prescott were for taking and fortifying a hill to draw the enemy out of Boston. They felt confidence in their men. Putnam said “the Americans were not afraid of their heads, though very much afraid of their legs. If you cover these, they will fight forever.” Ward and Warren opposed, because of the condition of the army and the fear of a general engagement, which it was not safe to risk.

The Committee of Safety had meantime learned that hills in Dorchester and Charlestown were to be seized by the British, and it was resolved to be in advance. Ward was requested to take and fortify Bunker Hill. On the night of the 16th of June, Colonel Prescott, with Col. Richard Gridley for an engineer and about twelve hundred men with intrenching tools, went on that memorable expedition. Morning light revealed the redoubt, and immediately drew a sharp fire from fleet and batteries, which was kept up all the forenoon. Meantime Colonel Stark, with his full New Hampshire regiment, was sent forward to assist. Before marching, each soldier of a portion of his command was given a gill of powder, fifteen balls, and one extra flint,—these to be made into cartridges. Putnam, with Connecticut men, also was sent, or went, forward; for it is hard to find much system about the

movements of that day. Some regiments were despatched, but failed to reach the hill, claiming a mistaken order. Colonel Scammons' regiment is a notable instance. The fire of the British war ships swept the Neck, and, it would seem, cooled the ardor of many a man. Not so with Colonel Stark ; who, when admonished that he must hurry his command if he expected to cross, replied that "one fresh man in action is better than ten fatigued ones," and marched steadily over. To Stark and his command is due the heroic stand at the rail fence, and the throwing up of stones down to the Mystic River in time to prevent the redoubt being taken by the flank movement under General Howe for the purpose of cutting off a retreat.

On this field we find General Putnam, from Connecticut, General Warren and General Pomeroy, Colonel Prescott, Colonel Stark ; while at Cambridge General Ward was in supreme command. The question of command upon the field has been much discussed, but to Prescott undoubtedly belongs the honor of the command in the redoubt. General Warren declined the command, and served as a private. His death was a great misfortune.

From the beginning to the final retreat the provincials had engaged about thirty-five hundred men and the British about three thousand ; but General Washington, after a careful examination, has said that at no one time did the Americans have over one thousand actually engaged. It is not my purpose to detail the varying scenes of this important battle.

Charlestown was set on fire as the second attack was begun. Frothingham says :—

" Now ensued one of the greatest scenes of war that can be conceived. To fill the eye—a brilliantly appointed army advancing to the attack and storming the works, supported by co-operating ships and batteries, the blaze of the burning town coursing whole streets and curling up spires of public edifices, the

air about filled with clouds of dense black smoke, and the surrounding hills, fields, roofs, and steeples occupied by crowds of spectators. To fill the ear—the shouts of contending armies, the crash of the falling buildings, and the roar of cannon, mortars, and musketry. To fill the mind—the high courage of men staking not only lives but their reputation on the uncertain issue of a civil war and the intense emotions of the near and dear connections standing in their presence, and on the other side, the reflection that a defeat of the regulars would be a final loss to the British Empire in America. And yet, in strange contrast to this terrific scene, the day was calm and clear, nature in its beauty and repose smiling serenely upon it all, as if in token of the triumphant end of the great conflict."

Burgoyne said of this scene: "A complication of horror and importance beyond anything that ever came to my lot to witness."

Another said: "The most incessant discharge of guns ever heard with mortal ears."

Abigail Adams, watching with her son from Penn's Hill in Braintree, says, in a letter to her husband:—

"The battle began upon our intrenchments upon Bunker Hill Saturday morning about three o'clock and has not ceased yet, and it is now three o'clk Sabbath afternoon. Charlestown is laid in ashes. It is expected they will come out over the neck to night, and a dreadful battle must ensue. Almighty God cover the heads of our countrymen and be a shield to our dear friends! How many have fallen we know not. The constant roar of cannon is so distressing that we cannot eat drink or sleep. My bursting heart must find vent at my pen. The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, but the God of Israel He giveth strength and power unto his people."

We all know the end. The enemy held the hill. For years it was hard to find any one who wished to be responsible for the battle. To many it was discouraging, and at the time both sides were disappointed,—the Americans that they lost the hill, and the British that they had lost so many men. As

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time passed and the real significance of the conflict came to be understood, the day became one for celebration and thanks.

At that time Massachusetts with her thirteen thousand troops was alone. She had the voluntary assistance of the New England colonies. How long they would stand by her was unknown. Would her men stand when confronted by regular troops was the question. All eyes were upon her. Should she flinch, all hope of union must fail. It is said that Washington, when told of this battle, asked, "Did our men stand fire?" and when told that they did, exclaimed, "Our liberties are safe!"

It is hard for us to realize the courage of those men who, one hundred and thirty years ago, faced almost alone a war with Great Britain. Massachusetts might have been left alone. There is evidence that attempts were made to arouse jealousies in the colonies to the south, and it was intimated that should the New England colonies succeed they would obtain a predominating influence in America. At this time how absurd this seems!

This Society has erected and maintains a granite shaft upon the site of Prescott's redoubt. Its duty is to repair and protect that shaft that it may stand as a memorial to Prescott and his men throughout the ages. This monument overlooks the surrounding country, and is an inspiration to citizen and stranger. High as we have placed its summit and broad as is its view, they are dwarfed and insignificant when compared with the lofty devotion to principle manifested by our sires at Bunker Hill.

While we protect from decay this great granite shaft, may we study the lessons of '75 and so apply them that the blessings of liberty which we enjoy may be transmitted unimpaired from generation to generation throughout our common country.

REMARKS OF JAMES BOURNE AYER, M.D.

BOSTON AT THE TIME OF THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL.

GENTLEMEN OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION:

YOUR President has asked me to say a few words to-day regarding the conditions existing in the town during the battle of Bunker Hill.

I think he has done me this honor, knowing that some inquiry regarding the poor, the sick, and the defectives in Provincial times had been made, with especial reference to the care received in the almshouse, bridewell, and workhouse, which occupied Centry Street, now Park Street. I can say nothing new. The archives at the State House, Force's "American Archives," the diaries of actors of the time, and the Boston Donation Accounts in the publications of historical societies, Frothingham's "Siege of Boston," together with the works of, and pages of bibliography enumerated by, Hunnewell and Winsor form a wealth of literature about the day we now celebrate; and it seems as though nothing more could be said.

Possibly a few minutes can be profitably spent, however, in referring to the conditions which seem to me to stand out prominently: **POVERTY, SICKNESS, and POOR FOOD.**

It will be remembered that for thirty years the population of Boston had been at a standstill; its wonderful prosperity had abated. Few new buildings of importance had been erected during this time.

The almshouse ordered by the town in 1660, built, later, on or near the present site of the Athenaeum, was probably

the first in the country;* and when it was rebuilt in 1685-6 (after a fire) there was still none in New York or Philadelphia. It was to the town's credit that the group of charity buildings was completed by building the bridewell and workhouse, removing the granary to the site of the present Park Street church, and extending the almshouse in 1741 to the corner of the present Beacon and Park Streets. The care of the poor, the sick, and the defectives, however, was becoming onerous to the town. The pre-revolutionary time interfered with business, for the Writs of Assistance, the Stamp Act, the Boston Massacre, the Tea Party, and, finally, the Boston Port Bill kept the whole population in a state of excitement.

The following extract, from the records of an adjourned meeting of the Freeholders and other Inhabitants, will show the condition of the poor in Boston at the Stamp Act period:—

"April 4, 1769. The Committee appointed to Consider of some suitable Methods for employing the Poor of the Town whose Numbers and distresses are dayly encreasing by the loss of its Trade & Commerce Report — That they have conversed with some of the Overseers of The Poor, and find by their Accounts that there are almost 230 Persons in the Almshouse, and about 40 in the Work-house who are proper Subjects of the Alms-house, that the Overseers in the Year 1767, paid away to People out of that House towards their support and Relief not less than Six hundred pounds, and the last Year not less than £620, — and that they apprehend from the great decay of Trade, and the consequent want of employ that the Expences of the present Year for the relief of the People out of the House, will be much larger, and must of necessity annually increase."

June 1, 1774, the Port Bill went into effect: with a blow it *ended* the prosperity of the town. John Rowe, in his diary, June 12, 1774, says: "After church I walked Round the Wharffs. 't is impossible to describe the Distressed Situation of this Poor Town — not one Topsail Merchantman to be seen."

* "The Boston Almshouse," in an article entitled "Institutional Care of Destitute Adults," by Robert W. Heberd, Secretary of the New York State Board of Charities. *Charities Review*, Jan., 1901, page 515.

With the sympathy of the country substantial relief, from all parts of the colonies and also from England and the West Indies, was sent to the Port Bill sufferers, and was distributed by a Committee of Donations. Money and goods continued to come throughout the period of the siege and later.

The condition of affairs in the fall of 1774 is shown by a quotation from the Journals of the Continental Congress, October 6, 1774. A letter had just arrived from the Committee of Correspondence stating that

"the inhabitants expected some regard would have been paid to the petitions presented to their Govr. against fortifying their town in such a manner as can be accounted for only upon the supposition that the town and country are to be treated by the soldiery as declared enemies—that the entrenchments upon the neck are nearly compleated—that cannon are mounted at the entrance of the town—that it is currently reported, that fortifications are to be erected on Corpse-Hill, Beacon-Hill, & Fort-Hill, &c. so that the fortifications, with the ships in the harbour, may absolutely command every avenue to the town both by sea & land,—that a number of cannon, the property of private gentlemen, were a few days ago seized & taken from his wharf by order of the general—that from several circumstances mentioned in the letter, there is reason to apprehend that Boston is to be made & kept a garrisoned town;—that from all they can hear from Britain, Administration is resolved to do all in their power to force them to a submission—that when the town is enclosed, it is apprehended the inhabitants will be held as hostages for the submission of the country, they apply therefore to the Congress for advice how to act—that, 'if the Congress advise to quit the town,—they obey,—if it is judged that by maintaining their ground they can better serve the public cause, they will not shrink from hardship & danger—finally, that as the late acts of parliament have made it impossible that there should be a due administration of justice, & all law therefore must be suspended—that as the Govr. has by proclamation prevented the meeting of the General Court,—they therefore request the advice of the Congress.'"

These passages from Frothingham also reflect the condition of the town:—

"While such was the mental life of Boston, how changed had become its material aspect! How still its street, how deserted its wharves, how dull its marts! The Port Bill not only cut off its foreign trade, but the

whole of its domestic trade by water. Did a lighter attempt to land hay from the islands or a boat to bring in sand from the neighboring hills, or a scow to freight to it lumber or iron, or a float to land sheep, or a farmer to carry marketing over in the ferry-boats, the argus-eyed fleet was ready to see it, and prompt to capture or destroy. Not a raft or keel was allowed to approach the town with merchandise. Many of the stores, especially all those on Long Wharf, were closed. In a word, Boston had fairly entered on its season of suffering. Did its inhabitants expostulate on the severity with which the law was carried out? The insulting reply was that to distress them was the object of the bill. As though the deeper the iron entered into the soul, the sooner and the more complete would be the submission. Citizens of competence were reduced to want; the ever hard lot of the poor became harder. To maintain order and preserve life, at so trying a season, called for nerve and firmness. Work was to be provided when there was no demand for the products of labor, and relief was to be distributed according to the circumstances of the applicants. The donation committee sat every day, Sundays excepted, to distribute the supplies. An arrangement was made with the selectmen, by which a large number were employed to repair and pave the streets, and hundreds were employed in brick-yards laid out on the Neck. Manufactories of various kinds were established; the building of vessels and of houses and setting up blacksmith-shops were among the projects started. The means to carry on all this business were derived from the contributions. This forced labor, however, ill compared with that voluntary activity which had so long characterized the metropolis; and a visitor to it, during the winter of 1774-5, would have seen little of that commerce which had raised 'the great town' to its high prosperity." . . .

"It pursued steadily the course laid out for it, that of patient suffering. Hence it became so quiet, that the royal officers ascribed it to fear and to submission. But the patriots saw in this calmness, this forbearance, this absence of tumult, a high and necessary duty." *

In the spring of 1775 many of the inhabitants moved outside of the Province. In the letters of John Andrews (Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, July, 1865) it is stated, under the date of April 11, 1775: "In regard to publick affairs, we are all in confusion at present, the streets and Neck lin'd with waggons carrying off the effects of the inhabitants, who are either afraid, mad, crazy or infatuated — immagining to themselves that they shall be liable to every evil that can be enumerated, if they tarry in town."

* Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," pages 37-40.

This notice of an act of the Provincial Congress at Concord, April 14, 1775, is from the *Essex Gazette* :—

“ Whereas Numbers of Persons from their unhappy Situation in the Town of Boston, are Removing with their Effects . . . It is recommended to the good People of this Province, that they would rent their Houses, and assist such Persons with Teams for their removal, Provisions for their Support, and all other Necessaries upon as easy and cheap Terms as they can possibly afford; and that all Goods and Merchandise be sold in like Manner, agreeable to the Spirit of the Continental Association. By Order of the Provincial Congress. John Hancock, President.”

The subject of small-pox was receiving considerable attention from the Selectmen in March and April, the cases being treated principally in the hospital ship in the harbor, and in the hospital at West Boston.

It is thus very plain that up to the battle of Lexington there was *poverty, distress, and sickness* in this town.

The sixty days between the battles of Lexington and Bunker Hill forms the early part of the siege of Boston. The importance of the discussions with General Gage regarding passes to go in and out of the town is summed up in a letter of Mrs. Abigail Adams, as follows :—

“ Braintree, May 7, '75.

“ The distresses of the inhabitants of Boston are beyond the power of language to describe; there are but very few who are permitted to come out in a day; they delay giving passes, make them wait from hour to hour, and their counsels are not two hours together alike. One day, they shall come out with their effects; the next day, merchandise is not effects. One day, their household furniture is to come out; the next, only wearing apparel; the next, Pharaoh's heart is hardened, and he refuseth to hearken to them, and will not let the people go. . . . They have taken a list of all those who they suppose were concerned in watching the tea, and every other person whom they call obnoxious, and they and their effects are to suffer destruction.” *

It was arranged by the Provincial Congress that upwards of 4900 persons should be transported from the town and placed in other communities, at the expense of the Donation Fund as far as possible, the balance to be paid from the

* Letters of Mrs. Adams, page 31.

Provincial treasury. In John Andrews' letters, May 6th, it is stated that —

"Near half the inhabitants have left the town already, and another quarter, at least, have been waiting for a week past, with earnest expectation of geting papers, which have been dealt out very sparingly of late, not above two or three procur'd of a day, and those with the greatest difficulty. Its a fortnight yesterday since the communication between the town and country was stop'd."

Other events during this period of sixty days were the struggles in the harbor to keep the English from appropriating live-stock ; the disastrous fire at the town dock starting at the soldiers' barracks, May 17th ; and the arrival, May 25th, of the *Cerberus* with Howe, Clinton, and Burgoyne, with large reinforcements. During this time the town suffered severely from want of fresh food, for as General Gage had gone back on his agreement, the Continental Congress had probably allowed no other person than Lady Frankland to take in any other "effects" than furniture and clothing. General Gage soon found that he had to depend principally on food from Nova Scotia, Europe, and the West Indies.

A portion of the food from the Donation Fund, destined for the poor inhabitants, was burnt up in the fire at the town dock. Trevelyan says the English could spare none of their food for the non-combatants, of whom 6000–7000 remained in the town. Even thus early in the siege lack of fresh food caused sickness, both to troops and inhabitants. The soldiers were treated at the manufactory house, opposite the present Park Street church, which was turned into the "General Hospital." Trevelyan states significantly that from July onwards, to prevent discouragement, the bells were not tolled for funerals.

Coming to the day of the battle we find this statement in Mrs. Abigail Adams' letters : "Upon the 17th of June, printed handbills were posted up at the corners of the streets and upon houses, forbidding any inhabitants to go upon their

houses, or upon any eminence, on pain of death ; the inhabitants dared not look out of their houses, nor to be heard or seen to ask a question." * The following extract, however, from de Fonblanque's "Life of Burgoyne," describing the battle, shows that this command was disregarded, for it speaks of "A prospect of the neighboring hills, the steeples of Boston, and the masts of such ships as were unemployed in the harbour, all crowded with spectators, friends and foes, alike in anxious suspense, made a back-ground to the piece." †

The return of the wounded to Boston by ferry left a deep and lasting impression upon the minds of the inhabitants. To quote Frothingham :—

"The physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries of Boston rendered every assistance in their power. The processions were melancholy sights. 'In the first carriage,' writes Clarke, 'was Major Williams, bleeding and dying, and three dead captains of the fifty-second regiment. In the second, four dead officers; then another with wounded officers.' . . . 'On Monday morning,' a British account says, 'all the dead officers were decently buried in Boston, in a private manner, in the different churches and churchyards there.' ‡

The sick and wounded at Bunker Hill have been described by eminent authority as follows :—

"Many of the wounded were cared for in private houses, and by their friends in the barracks and tents in the camp. . . . It was the hottest day of that whole summer. A very intelligent and trustworthy man who was 20 years old at the time of the fight, described the scene vividly to me, as he saw it in the evening, all through the night, and the next day—hearing the screams of the sufferers. . . . The British distributed their wounded in Boston in various places; at the houses of loyalists—in schools, buildings, etc.—providing comfortably for the officers. Their hospital, the only one so called, was a large wooden building opposite Park Street Church standing on what was then called 'Long Acre,' that had been used for various purposes—a granary, linen factory, and workhouse. This seems

* July 5, 1775.

† Political and Military Episodes in the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century derived from the Life and Correspondence of the Right Hon. John Burgoyne, by Edward Barrington de Fonblanque, page 156.

‡ Frothingham's "History of the Siege of Boston," page 194.

to have been fitted with some care. After the evacuation of Boston by the British, it was natural that the provincials should bring their sick to the same receptacle. . . . Dr. John Warren, in a deposition made to the Provincial council, April 9, 1776, testified that he found in the medical storeroom of this building large quantities of medicine with which were intermixed white and yellow arsenic. He added that Dr. Samuel Scott had found the same. . . ."

I am inclined to think that the medical storeroom mentioned was in the workhouse belonging to the group of charity buildings on Park Street, which, with the almshouse, was taken and used for the wounded after the battle of Bunker Hill.

The troops did badly; loss of life was great, and some of the survivors were sent back to England in the fall.

As for the Provincial troops, Mrs. Adams says: "Our prisoners were brought over to the Long Wharf, and there lay all night, without any care of their wounds or any resting-place but the pavements, until the next day, when they exchanged it for the jail, since which we hear they are civilly treated."

I will conclude with the correspondence in answer to a petition of the wounded patriots in jail; and know of no better illustration of the *poverty, sickness, and starvation* of the time:—

FROM MASS. ARCHIVES VOL. 194: 10

Sir I have herewith Inclosed a Request from a Number of Prisoner^s now in Boston which I Received yersterday P: m: by one of the Selectmen of Weymouth to whom it was Sent from m^r. Scholey of Boston, it was Caryed to the Committe of Safety & from them to General ward who Sent to me but Think it not Proper to Determin this matter without advise from the Congress whose Directions I Shall Comply with I am Sir your most obedient & very Humble Servant

Roxbry Camp June 27th: 1775

Jn^o. Thomas

T the Honor^r James Warren Esq
att Wattertown

The petition read as follows:—

"BOSTON, 23 June, 1775.

"It is the desire of Twenty five persons from the Country that were taken prisoners at Charlestown last Saturday, and many of them dangerously wounded that as they are in great want of fresh provisions for their comfort, they would have you go to Weymouth or any other Town in your neighborhood & recommend to the good people there to Send them Some Mutton & other provisions as may be Suitable for them."*

The following action was taken on this petition:—

The Committee appointed to Consider the Request of a Nouumber our Wounded Friends Now in Captivity in Boston —— Beg leave to Report that General Thomas be Requested Moderately to Supply Said Prisoners with Fresh meat in Cass he Can Convey It to them and them onley —— Watertown June 27, 1775

accepted Endorsed: Report on the Letter of General Thomas respect^s y^e Request of the Captives in Boston — for provisions —— †

* Mass. State Archives, Vol. 138: 169.

† Mass. State Archives, Vol. 138: 174.

LETTER
OF
HONORABLE TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER.

319 DARTMOUTH STREET,
BOSTON, June 2d, 1905.

MY DEAR SIR:—

I have received your note of May 31st., telling me of something I had not thought of — that the Seventeenth of June, 1905, would be the fiftieth anniversary of my election to membership in the Board of Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

Yes, that is true, as it was in the first year of my service as Mayor of the City of Charlestown, and that was in 1855 — fifty years ago. I was proud to become an official in the Monument Association, and my experience since that time tells me that I had reason to be proud of an opportunity to commence an association with gentlemen such as have composed the Board for now a full half century of time. It has made me, I hope, a better man and truer patriot.

My connection with the Association dates back to 1825, when my father paid the fee which entitled his eight-year-old boy to membership, and brought home the diploma signed by Gov. John Brooks, President; Franklin Dexter, Secretary; Nathaniel P. Russell, Treasurer. I have this diploma still in my possession, with that of my father and grandfather, Timothy Thompson (who was a sergeant in the Charlestown Company in the battle of Bunker Hill), among other time-worn papers that my weakness, or strength, perhaps, has prompted me to cherish and preserve.

The early days of the construction of the monument seem very familiar to me, as its location was on one of the Charlestown boys' playgrounds. An effort of memory, I think, would enable me to call back something of what took place during all the years the work was going on; yes, from the first excavation and planting of the foundation stones to the placing of the cap stone; and as I reflect upon it the process and progress of the whole work come

48 LETTER OF HONORABLE TIMOTHY T. SAWYER.

surprisingly to my recollection and leave before me the completed structure as the result of a grand and most appropriate design successfully carried out by skilled and persevering labor.

The celebration at the time the corner-stone of the monument was laid comes vividly before me, and the procession as it passed up Main Street, by the corner of Thompson Street, which was my point of view, seems almost to be passing now. I was at the window of my grandfather's house, and remember well my childish inquiry as to the significance of the little aprons worn by the members of the Masonic lodges, and especially my eagerness to see, when General Lafayette was pointed out to me by my father, who the year before, July 4, 1824, when in Paris, had been present at a dinner given to the General and his son by a party of about fifty American gentlemen.

You refer in your letter to a conversation in your office, but I don't remember its subject, unless it related to a paper I gave the *Charlestown Enterprise*, that contained the names of all the original members of the Association from Charlestown. A report in pamphlet form was printed in 1830, of all the original subscribers to the building fund, but only a few copies of that report can now be found. I do not know why Mr. Warren in his history omitted this list altogether. Inquiry concerning it has been answered by the statement that it was imperfect; but after examining my own copy carefully I doubt that; at any rate, I am sure that the list of Charlestown subscribers, as it appeared in the *Enterprise*, is correct. To be faithful to history, I have sometimes thought it would be well to reprint that old report.

Always with the Association in spirit, I trust, I remain,

Truly yours,

TIMOTHY T. SAWYER.

Mr. Sawyer gives in the *Charlestown Enterprise* of June 17th the following list of Charlestown men who are known to have served in the engagement on Bunker Hill:—

Josiah Harris, captain, Charlestown; Bartholemew Trow, lieutenant; Thomas Miller, ensign, Charlestown; James Berry, ser-

geant, Charlestown; Francis Green, corporal, Boston; Samuel Moors, Timothy Thompson, sergeants, Charlestown; James Barker, Richard Iron, corporals, Charlestown; Joseph Eaton, corporal, Lynn; Joseph Eaton, Jr., fifer, Charlestown; Joshua Eaton, drummer, Charlestown; Samuel Adams, John Benjamin, Thomas Chubb, Jonathan Cutter, Jonathan Cogswell, Jonathan Deland, privates, Charlestown; Samuel Edes, private, Lynn; Jesse Ferdick, William Gibson, William Goodwin, Joseph Grant, Joseph Green, Martin Green, John Harris, Nicholas Harden, Joseph Hitchings, John Hopping, Thomas Hopping, Edward Larkin, Daniel McCarty, Job Miller, Jacob Mancer, Joseph Powers, James Runy, John Turner, Nathaniel Wait, Cate Frothingham, Solomon Phipps, private, Charlestown, transferred to train May 3; Abraham Rand, private, Charlestown, transferred to train May 3; William Chamberlain, private, Charlestown, transferred to train May 3; Eliakim Caswell, private, transferred to train; Joseph Lewis, private, enlisted for Quebec, September 8; Charles Nutting, private, enlisted for Quebec, September 8. This company was attached to Colonel Thomas Pardner's Regiment of eight months' men, enlisted in 1875 for service at and about Boston, and according to all accounts it did good service in the battle at Bunker Hill, bravely defending its position at the rail fence, and, as Colonel Samuel Swett says in his history of the battle, was the last company to retreat and leave the field.

Under the same call of the Provincial Congress thirty other Charlestown men enlisted and served in other companies who participated in the battle. We give a list of their names as follows: —

John Brown, Zacheus Banks, Nathaniel Pyper, privates in Captain Benjamin Bullard's company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's regiment.

William Ellory, fifer in Captain John Black's company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's regiment.

Coffee Wood, Cato Wood, privates in Captain Joseph Stebbin's company, Colonel Jonathan Brewer's regiment.

50 LETTER OF HONORABLE TIMOTHY T. SAWYER.

John Bodge, Cuff Haise, privates in Captain Ephraim Corey's company, Colonel William Prescott's regiment.

Preserved Clap, private in Captain Benjamin Hasting's company, Colonel Asa Whitecomb's regiment.

Antony Shezzerel, Joseph Rand, Francis Dizer, privates in Captain Jonathan Davis' company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's regiment.

Jonathan Choat, private in Captain Abner Cranson's company, Colonel Asa Whitcomb's regiment.

Samuel Jenners, private in Captain Peter Coburn's company, Colonel Ebenezer Bridge's regiment.

William Barber, private in Captain Job Cushing's company, Colonel Artemas Ward's regiment.

Benjamin Sweetser, Bela Sweetser, privates in Captain Nailer Hatch's company, Colonel Thomas Gardner's regiment.

Daniel Cutter, Ephraim Mullet, John Shelden Center, William Dixon, Isaac Fillebrown, William Hopkins, Richard Loring, Samuel Pierce, Andrew Mallet, privates in Captain Benjamin Lock's company, Colonel Thomas Gardner's regiment.

George Airs, private in Captain John Wood's company, Colonel Samuel Gerrish's (Lieutenant Colonel L. Baldwin's) regiment.

Abraham Cornish, sergeant in Captain Edward Burbeck's company, Colonel Richard Gridley's regiment.

It would seem as if this is desirable and seasonable information to place in the hands of the young men of to-day who are aiming to keep alive the spirit of true patriotism, and to perpetuate the memory of those who aided in laying the foundation of the republic, the government of the people by the people, under which we are permitted to live, and in whose glory and prosperity we can all of us share.

S.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

AND

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

CASH ACCOUNT.

RECEIPTS.

JUNE 1, 1904, TO JUNE 1, 1905.

BALANCE, June 1, 1904:—

Income Account	\$630.42
Contribution toward payment of Debt	10.00
General Fund	<u>110.00</u>
	\$750.42

INITIATION FEES, from 12 new members	\$60.00
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ADMISSIONS TO THE MONUMENT	<u>5,690.00</u>
	5,750.00

INTEREST, allowed on Bank balances	57.66
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\$6,558.08

CASH ACCOUNT.

EXPENDITURES.

JUNE 1, 1904, TO JUNE 1, 1905.

SALARIES:—

John W. Dennett, <i>Superintendent</i>	\$900.00
George A. Lee, <i>Assistant</i>	...	...	720.00
Ellen F. Palmer, <i>Clerk</i>	...	...	480.00
Joseph W. Noble, <i>Police</i>	...	...	732.00
Francis H. Brown, <i>Secretary</i>	...	...	250.00
			<u>\$3,082.00</u>

GENERAL EXPENSE:—

Gas and electric lighting	...	...	\$356.56
Fuel	...	...	190.50
Police service on Sunday	...	...	35.50
City of Boston, water tax	...	...	30.50
Dennett Bros., 80 cedar posts	...	...	13.33
John W. Dennett: Extra labor —			
in removing snow	...	...	\$120.50
on grounds, fence, and seats	...	101.95	222.45
Sundry materials, small repairs, and petty expenses	191.43		<u>1,040.27</u>
University Press, printing	...	...	\$464.88
Secretary's office rent, twelve months	...	...	150.00
Postage, stationery, and clerical service	...	...	226.00
C. H. Greenleaf & Co., luncheon at the Vendôme	...	119.15	
Advertising	...	5.20	
W. A. Beattie, insurance on furniture	30.00	995.23	<u>\$5,117.50</u>

INTEREST:—

Bunker Hill National Bank, on Note for \$1,000 @ 4 %	37.00
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NOTES PAYABLE:—

Bunker Hill National Bank, paid	1,000.00
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BALANCE:—

Income Account	\$223.58
General Fund	...	180.00	403.58
			<u>\$6,558.08</u>

TRIAL BALANCE.

Debits.

The Monument	\$133,649.83
Granite Lodge	<u>36,512.07</u>
Cash	403.58
	<u>\$170,565.48</u>

Credits.

Capital	\$170,161.90
Income	\$223.58
General Fund	<u>180.00</u>
	403.58
	<u>\$170,565.48</u>

G. ARTHUR HILTON, *Treasurer.*

BOSTON, June 1, 1905.

REPORT OF THE AUDITING COMMITTEE.

The undersigned, a Committee appointed to examine the Accounts of the Treasurer of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for the year ending June 1, 1905, with power to employ an expert accountant, have attended to that duty, and report that Mr. William H. Hart, Public Accountant, was employed to make a full examination of the accounts and securities of the Corporation; that he found the Accounts correctly kept and properly vouched; and that proper evidence of the balance of Cash on hand was shown to him and to us.

JOHN NOBLE
S. LOTHROP THORNDIKE } *Committee.*

BOSTON, June 13, 1905.

NUMBER OF REGISTERED VISITORS TO THE MONUMENT
FROM JUNE 1, 1904, TO JUNE 1, 1905.

FROM THE UNITED STATES.

Alabama	30	Nebraska	114
Arkansas	9	Nevada	7
California	625	New Hampshire	844
Colorado	139	New Jersey	846
Connecticut	920	New York	3,185
Delaware	40	North Carolina	45
Florida	62	North Dakota	19
Georgia	88	Ohio	854
Idaho	19	Oregon	57
Illinois	867	Pennsylvania	1,741
Indiana	245	Rhode Island	715
Iowa	209	South Carolina	29
Kansas	137	South Dakota	38
Kentucky	77	Tennessee	66
Louisiana	49	Texas	95
Maine	1,032	Utah	82
Massachusetts	13,163	Vermont	566
Maryland	146	Virginia	101
Michigan	389	West Virginia	35
Minnesota	240	Washington	67
Mississippi	28	Wisconsin	210
Missouri	175	Wyoming	9
Montana	9		

FROM TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

Alaska	3	Indian	6
Arizona	15	New Mexico	13
District of Columbia	168	Oklahoma	41

FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Africa	6	Mexico	11
Asia	42	New Zealand	6
Australia	7	Norway and Sweden	14
Canada	517	Russia	3
Denmark	6	Sandwich Islands	5
England	86	Scotland	25
Europe	4	Spain	48
France	11	Switzerland	2
Germany	29	South America	5
India	3	Turkey	3
Ireland	32	Wales	4
Italy	3	West Indies	5

From the United States 27,773

From Territories of the United States 246

From Foreign Countries 857

Total 28,876

Board of Directors
 OF THE
BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION,
 JUNE 17, 1905,
 IN THE ORDER OF THEIR ELECTION.

TIMOTHY THOMPSON SAWYER	1855	HENRY FITCH JENKS	1895
CHARLES MERRIAM	1866	RICHARD MIDDLECOTT SALTON-	
CHARLES FRANCIS FAIRBANKS	1867	STALL	1895
JOHN COLLINS WARREN (<i>Presi-</i> <i>dent</i>)	1868	FRANCIS HENRY BROWN (<i>Sec'y</i>)	1896
CHARLES RUSSELL CODMAN	1873	SOLOMON LINCOLN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1896
THOMAS QUINCY BROWNE	1874	LINZEE PRESCOTT	1896
HENRY WALKER	1874	OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES . .	1897
EDWARD TOBEY BARKER	1875	FRANCIS CABOT LOWELL . .	1897
HENRY HERBERT EDES	1875	MOORFIELD STOREY	1897
WILLIAM EVERETT	1877	WINSLOW WARREN (<i>Vice-Pres't</i>)	1897
EDWARD EVERETT HALE (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1881	GEORGE WIGGLESWORTH . . .	1897
WILLIAM THEOPHILUS ROGERS MARVIN	1882	HENRY LEE HIGGINSON . . .	1898
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS	1883	JOHN NOBLE	1899
LUCIUS HENRY WARREN	1883	STEPHEN SALISBURY	1899
JOSHUA PETER BODFISH	1885	JAMES DE NORMANDIE	1900
CHARLES RICHARD LAWRENCE	1886	DAVID PULSIFER KIMBALL . .	1900
JAMES FROTHINGHAM HUNNE- WELL	1887	GEORGE VASMER LEVERETT .	1900
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE	1887	SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE	1900
SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN	1889	GEORGE DAVIS EDMANDS . .	1901
JOHN LATHROP	1890	THORNTON KIRKLAND LOTHROP	1901
ARTHUR LITHGOW DEVENS	1891	HENRY HORATIO CHANDLER .	1902
WILLIAM ENDICOTT	1892	ANDREW McFARLAND DAVIS .	1902
ARNOLD AUGUSTUS RAND	1893	FREDERICK LEWIS GAY . . .	1902
HENRY ERNEST WOODS	1894	JOHN TORREY MORSE, JR. .	1902
CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS (<i>Vice-</i> <i>President</i>)	1895	HENRY PICKERING BOWDITCH	1903
ARTHUR AMORY	1895	CHARLES WARREN CLIFFORD .	1903
EDWARD BROOKS	1895	CHARLES AMOS CUMMINGS .	1903
		FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER .	1903
		NATHANIEL THAYER	1903
		CHARLES FAVOUR BYAM . . .	1904
		FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN (<i>Treasurer</i>)	1905

STANDING COMMITTEE.

1904-1905.

JOHN COLLINS WARREN, *President,* }
FRANCIS HENRY LINCOLN, *Treasurer,* }
FRANCIS HENRY BROWN, *Secretary,* } *Ex Officiis.*
HENRY HERBERT EDES.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.
AMORY APPLETON LAWRENCE.
SOLOMON LINCOLN.
HENRY ERNEST WOODS.
HENRY LEE HIGGINSON.
JOHN LATHROP.
JOHN NOBLE.
JAMES DE NORMANDIE.
SAMUEL LOTHROP THORNDIKE.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

1874.

CARL SCHURZ.

1891.

WHITELAW REID.

1886.

GROVER CLEVELAND.

1893.

OLIVER OTIS HOWARD.

MELVILLE WESTON FULLER.

JOHN McALLISTER SCHOFIELD.

HORACE PORTER.

1888.

NELSON APPLETON MILES.

1894.

DOUGLAS PUTNAM.

ANDREW ELICOTT KENNEDY
BENHAM.

DANIEL EDGAR SICKLES.

1889.

LEWIS ASHFIELD KIMBERLY.

1895.

GASTON DE SAHUNE DE LAFAYETTE.

RESIDENT MEMBERS.

A.

Charles Elisha Adams.
Charles Francis Adams.
Charles Francis Adams, 2d.
James Adams.
James Adams, Jr.
Ebenezer Alexander.
Charles Allen.
Charles Hastings Allen.
Crawford Carter Allen.
Charles Gordon Ames.
Joseph Blanchard Ames.
Oliver Ames.
Arthur Amory.
Frederic Amory.
Ingersoll Amory.
Robert Amory.
Charles Adams Appleton.
Nathan Appleton.
William Appleton.
William Sumner Appleton.
Burtis Lacy Arbecam.
Charles Arey.
Thomas Aspinwall.
William Henry Aspinwall.
Edward Atkinson.
Francis Boylston Austin.
James Walker Austin.
James Bourne Ayer.

B.

Robert Tillinghast Babson.
Edwin Munroe Bacon.

Horace Sargent Bacon.
Andrew Jackson Bailey.
Ezra Henry Baker.
Peter Baker.
Hosea Starr Ballou.
Edward Appleton Bangs.
Eben Barker.
Eben Francis Barker.
Edward Tobey Barker.
James Madison Barker.
John George Barker.
Edmund Johnson Barnard.
Frank Trask Barron.
Samuel June Barrows.
Nelson Bartlett.
Jonathan Bartlett Look Bartlett.
Theodore Cornelius Bates.
Edward Clarence Battis.
Boylston Adams Beal.
James Henry Beal.
Thomas Prince Beal.
Franklin Thomason Beatty.
Albert Decatur Spaulter Bell.
Alfred Whitney Bell.
Charles Upham Bell.
William Gibson Bell.
Charles Vose Bemis.
Josiah Henry Benton, Jr.
William Emery Bicknell.
Wilmon Wheildon Blackmar.
Henry Nichols Blake.
Samuel Parkman Blake.
Samuel May Boardman.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Joshua Peter Bodfish. | George Hylands Campbell. |
| Joel Carlton Bolan. | Rufus George Frederick Candage. |
| Charles Knowles Bolton. | John Capen. |
| Walter Lincoln Bouvé. | Guy Edward Carleton. |
| Charles Pickering Bowditch. | William Dudley Carleton. |
| Henry Pickering Bowditch. | William Edward Carleton. |
| George Gardner Bradford. | Frederick Bunker Carpenter. |
| William Burroughs Bradford. | Samuel Carr. |
| Frank Eliot Bradish. | Charles Theodoré Carruth. |
| Henry Willard Bragg. | Henry Horatio Chandler. |
| Frank Brewster. | Edward Channing. |
| John Franklin Briry. | George Francis Chapin. |
| Alfred Mansfield Brooks. | Charles Augustus Chase. |
| Charles Butler Brooks. | William Franklin Cheney. |
| Edward Brooks. | Charles Greenough Chick. |
| Lawrence Brooks. | Munroe Chickering. |
| Peter Chardon Brooks. | Charles Francis Choate. |
| Shepherd Brooks. | William Worcester Churchill. |
| Francis Henry Brown. | William Claflin. |
| George Barnard Brown. | Arthur Tirrell Clark. |
| George Edward Brown. | David Oakes Clark. |
| Gilbert Patten Brown. | Robert Farley Clark. |
| Howard Nicholson Brown. | George Kuhn Clarke. |
| Joseph Henry Brown. | Charles Warren Clifford. |
| Louis Francis Brown. | Darius Cobb. |
| Thomas Quincy Browne. | Arthur Bruce Coburn. |
| Frederick Alexander Buckingham. | Charles Henry Coburn. |
| George Greenleaf Bulfinch. | Charles Russell Codman. |
| Augustus George Bullock. | Rufus Coffin. |
| George Henry Burr. | Harrison Gray Otis Colby. |
| Charles Favour Byam. | David Hill Coolidge. |
| Charles Ruthven Byram. | Ernest Hall Coolidge. |
| C. | |
| Arthur Tracy Cabot. | Frederic Austin Coolidge. |
| Louis Cabot. | George Augustin Coolidge. |
| Joseph Caldwell. | Thomas Jefferson Coolidge. |
| Joseph Henry Caldwell. | John Joseph Copp. |
| | Edward Jones Cox. |
| | George Franklin Crafts. |
| | Edwin Sanford Crandon. |

George Glover Crocker.
 George Uriel Crocker.
 James Allen Crosby.
 Stephen Moody Crosby.
 Charles Amos Cummings.
 Prentiss Cummings.
 Henry Winchester Cunningham.
 Charles Pelham Curtis.
 John Silsbee Curtis.
 Frederic Haines Curtiss.
 Elbridge Gerry Cutler.
 Henry Clark Cutter.

D.

Lewis Stackpole Dabney.
 John Stanhope Damrell.
 James Dana.
 Richard Henry Dana.
 Thomas Dana.
 Allen Danforth.
 Henry William Daniell.
 George Allen Dary.
 Andrew McFarland Davis.
 Horace Davis.
 James Clarke Davis.
 John George Dearborn.
 Henry Beals Dennison.
 Henry Gardner Denny.
 Joseph Waldo Denny.
 James De Normandie.
 Arthur Lithgow Devens.
 Franklin Dexter.
 Gordon Dexter.
 Philip Dexter.
 William Sohier Dexter.
 Marquis Fayette Dickinson, Jr.
 Pitt Dillingham.
 Charles Healy Ditson.
 Horace Dodd.

Charles Acton Drew.
 Edward Livingston Drown.
 Loren Griswold Du Bois.
 Edward Howard Dunn.
 Henry Dorr Dupee.
 Theodore Francis Dwight.
 Thomas Dwight.

E.

William Storer Eaton.
 Henry Herbert Edes.
 Robert Thaxter Edes.
 Horace Albert Edgecomb.
 George Davis Edmands.
 Moses Grant Edmands.
 Thomas Franklin Edmands.
 James Eells.
 Arthur Blake Ellis.
 Ephraim Emerton.
 Eugene Francis Endicott.
 William Endicott.
 Carl Wilhelm Ernst.
 William Tracy Eustis.
 Edward Everett.
 Percival Lowell Everett.
 William Everett.

F.

Charles Francis Fairbanks.
 Charles Francis Fairbanks, Jr.
 Henry Parker Fairbanks.
 William Kendall Fairbanks.
 Augustus Alanson Fales.
 Andrew Coatsworth Fearing, Jr.
 Horace Newton Fisher.
 Worthington Chauncey Ford.
 Alfred Dwight Foster.
 Francis Apthorp Foster.

Francis Charles Foster.	Edward Henry Hall.
John Andrews Fox.	Franklin Austin Hall.
Alden Frink.	Thomas Hills Hall.
Henry Adams Frothingham.	Norwood Penrose Hallowell.
John Whipple Frothingham.	Wallace Henry Ham.
Paul Revere Frothingham.	Charles Sumner Hamlin.
Richard Frothingham.	Henry Mason Harper.
Thomas Goddard Frothingham.	Walter Leo Harrington.
Charles Emerson Fuller.	Charles Harris.
John Kuhn Fuller.	Samuel Tibbets Harris.
 G.	
Charles Theodore Gallagher.	Thaddeus William Harris.
Arthur Morton Gardner.	Thomas Norton Hart.
Frederick Lewis Gay.	William Henry Hart.
Daniel Dudley Gilbert.	Edwin Bradbury Haskell.
Shepard Devereux Gilbert.	Henry Hastings.
Charles Snelling Gill.	Albert Fearing Hayden.
George Lincoln Goodale.	Henry Williamson Haynes.
Abner Cheney Goodell.	Frank Conant Hayward.
Elbridge Henry Goss.	John Theodore Heard.
Benjamin Apthorp Gould.	Augustus Hemenway.
Robert Grant.	Joseph Putnam Bradlee
Charles Montraville Green.	Henshaw.
Joseph Foster Green.	Philip Hichborn.
Robert Montraville Green.	Henry Lee Higginson.
Samuel Abbott Green.	Thomas Wentworth Higginson.
Samuel Swett Green.	James Frederic Hill.
William Prescott Greenlaw.	Joseph Warren Hill.
Henry Sturgis Grew.	William Henry Hill.
William Elliot Griffis.	Gustavus Arthur Hilton.
Charles Edward Grinnell.	Samuel Parker Hinckley.
Curtis Guild.	George Miller Hobbs.
 H.	
Edward Hale.	Joshua Bennett Holden.
Edward Everett Hale.	Amor Leander Hollingsworth.
Richard Warren Hale.	Charles Bradley Holman.
Robert Sever Hale.	Oliver Wendell Holmes.
	Robert Homans.
	Franklin Hopkins.
	Edward Augustus Horton.
	Clement Stevens Houghton.

Archibald Murray Howe.
 Osborne Howes.
 Edwin Howland.
 Albert Harrison Hoyt.
 Charles Wells Hubbard.
 Charles Wells Hubbard, Jr.
 Richard Clapp Humphreys.
 James Frothingham Hunnewell.
 James Melville Hunnewell.
 Francis William Hurd.
 George Frederick Hurd.
 Charles Lewis Hutchins.
 Constantine Foundoulaki
 Hutchins.
 Edward Webster Hutchins.
 John Hurd Hutchins.

I.

Charles Edward Inches.
 George Brimmer Inches.

J.

Thomas Hart Benton James.
 Henry Percy Jaques.
 Charles William Jenks.
 Henry Fitch Jenks.
 Edward Francis Johnson.
 Wolcott Howe Johnson.
 Edward Jenkins Jones.
 Jerome Jones.
 William Frederick Jones.
 Henry Gregory Jordan.

K.

Edward Albert Kelly.
 John Kent.
 Prentiss Mellen Kent.
 George Adams Kettell.

Camillus George Kidder.
 Nathaniel Thayer Kidder.
 David Pulsifer Kimball.
 Herbert Wood Kimball.
 Lemuel Cushing Kimball.
 George Lyman Kittredge.
 Marcus Perrin Knowlton.

L.

Babson Savilian Ladd.
 Walter Alexander Ladd.
 William Thomas Lambert.
 Gardiner Martin Lane.
 William Coolidge Lane.
 John Lathrop.
 Amory Appleton Lawrence.
 Amos Amory Lawrence.
 Arthur Lawrence.
 Charles Richard Lawrence.
 James Lawrence.
 John Lawrence.
 John Silsbee Lawrence.
 Prescott Lawrence.
 William Lawrence.
 William Asa Lawrence.
 Charles Follen Lee.
 Charles Edward Leighton.
 George Vasmer Leverett.
 Francis Henry Lincoln.
 Frederic Walker Lincoln.
 Louis Revere Lincoln.
 Solomon Lincoln.
 Waldo Lincoln.
 William Henry Lincoln.
 William Elias Litchfield.
 John Mason Little.
 George Emery Littlefield.
 Rhodes Lockwood.
 Thomas St. John Lockwood.

Henry Cabot Lodge.
 John Davis Long.
 James Longley.
 Augustus Peabody Loring.
 Thornton Kirkland Lothrop.
 Francis Cabot Lowell.
 John Lowell.
 Charles Gustavus Lundell.
 William Wallace Lunt.
 Theodore Lyman.
 Henry Ware Lyon.

M.

Edward Webster McGlenen.
 George Sumner Mann.
 Francis Henry Manning.
 Henry Tucker Mansfield.
 Otis Humphrey Marion.
 Ernest Clifton Marshall.
 William Theophilus Rogers
 Marvin.
 Albert Mason.
 Charles Frank Mason.
 Albert Matthews.
 Nathan Matthews.
 Frederick Goddard May.
 Charles Merriam.
 Albert Brown Merrill.
 Thomas Minns.
 Godfrey Morse.
 John Torrey Morse, Jr.
 William Russell Morse.
 James Madison Morton.
 Marcus Morton.
 Charles William Moseley.
 Edward Augustus Moseley.
 Frank Moseley.
 Frederick Strong Moseley.
 Alfred Edgar Mullett.

N.

Nathaniel Cushing Nash.
 Warren Putnam Newcomb.
 Sereno Dwight Nickerson.
 John Noble.
 John Noble, Jr.
 Joseph Warren Noble.
 Grenville Howland Norcross.
 Otis Norcross.
 Charles Eliot Norton.
 Henry Frothingham Noyes.
 James Atkins Noyes.
 Francis Augustus Nye.

O.

Richard Frothingham O'Neil.
 Francis Augustus Osborn.
 William Newton Osgood.

P.

Alfred Baylies Page.
 Walter Gilman Page.
 Nathaniel Paine.
 Robert Treat Paine.
 John Gorham Palfrey.
 Eben Francis Parker.
 Francis Jewett Parker.
 Moses Greeley Parker.
 Peter Parker.
 William Prentiss Parker.
 Henry Parkman.
 Leighton Parks.
 James Parker Parmenter.
 Andrew Warren Patch.
 Francis Howard Peabody.
 Henry Wayland Peabody.
 John Endicott Peabody.
 Frederick Pease.

James Mills Peirce.
 Charles Sherburne Penhallow.
 Alvah Henry Peters.
 Frederick George Pettigrove.
 Frederick Bacon Philbrook.
 Stephen Willard Phillips.
 Edward Charles Pickering.
 Henry Pickering.
 Dudley Leavitt Pickman.
 Phineas Pierce.
 Wallace Lincoln Pierce.
 Albert Enoch Pillsbury.
 Edwin Lake Pillsbury.
 William Taggard Piper.
 Edward Marwick Plummer.
 George Sanger Poole.
 Charles Hunt Porter.
 Linzee Prescott.
 Rufus Prescott.
 Walter Conway Prescott.
 Frank Perley Prichard.
 George Jacob Putnam.

Q.

Josiah Quincy.
 Josiah Phillips Quincy.

R.

Charles Sedgwick Rackemann.
 Arnold Augustus Rand.
 Edward Melvin Raymond.
 Charles French Read.
 Reuben Law Reed.
 Joseph Warren Revere.
 James Ford Rhodes.
 William Ball Rice.
 William Reuben Richards.
 Gedney King Richardson.

George Lincoln Richardson.
 Parker Jones Richardson.
 Spencer Welles Richardson.
 Thomas Oren Richardson.
 William Lambert Richardson.
 Peter Stillings Roberts.
 Edward Blake Robins.
 William Robinson.
 Gorham Rogers.
 James Hardy Ropes.
 George Ibison Ross.
 George Howard Malcolm Rowe.
 Thomas Russell.
 Nathaniel Johnson Rust.

S.

Stephen Salisbury.
 Richard Middlecott Saltonstall.
 Calvin Proctor Sampson.
 George Augustus Sanderson.
 Charles William Sawyer.
 Clifford Denio Sawyer.
 Edward Keyes Sawyer.
 George Sawyer.
 Timothy Thompson Sawyer.
 Timothy Thompson Sawyer, Jr.
 Warren Sawyer.
 James Schouler.
 Joseph Henry Sears.
 Thomas Oliver Selfridge, Jr.
 Henry Shaw.
 Henry Southworth Shaw.
 Thomas Sherwin.
 Abraham Shuman.
 William Stearns Simmons.
 Alexander Doull Sinclair.
 Dennison Rogers Slade.
 Charles Card Smith.

Charles Francis Smith.	John Eliot Thayer.
Franklin Webster Smith.	Nathaniel Thayer.
Frank Langdon Smith.	Washington Butcher Thomas.
Mark Edward Smith.	Abraham Rand Thompson.
Sidney Leroy Smith.	John Thompson.
Jeremiah Smith.	Albert Thorndike.
Charles Armstrong Snow.	John Larkin Thorndike.
Emery Souther.	Samuel Lothrop Thorndike.
Robert Alexander Southworth.	James Brown Thornton.
Arthur John Clark Sowdon.	Benjamin Holt Ticknor.
Leonard Chauncey Spinney.	Amos Kendall Tilden.
Henry Harrison Sprague.	Frank Todd.
Benjamin Franklin Stacey.	James Pike Tolman.
Myles Standish.	Everett Torrey.
Henry Porter Stanwood.	David Howard Tribou.
Charles Henry Stearns.	Washington Benson Trull.
Roderick Stebbins.	George Fox Tucker.
Benjamin Franklin Stevens.	George Frederick Tufts.
Horace Holley Stevens.	Nathan Fitz Tufts.
Solon Whithed Stevens.	Henry Augustus Turner.
Edwin Albert Stone.	John Turner.
Joseph Stone.	John Franklin Turner.
Moorfield Storey.	Julius Herbert Tuttle.
Augustus Whittemore Stover.	Alexander Stevenson Twombly.
Willis Whittemore Stover.	Edward Royall Tyler.
Francis Stowell.	U.
John Stowell.	William Phineas Upham.
John Henry Studley.	V.
Charles Herbert Swan.	Frederic Henry Viaux.
Francis Henry Swan.	Frank Vose.
William Willard Swan.	W.
Isaac Homer Sweetser.	Freeman Andrew Walker.
Lindsay Swift.	Henry Walker.
T.	
Thomas Hammond Talbot.	Henshaw Bates Walley.
Thomas French Temple.	Eugene Wambaugh.
George Thacher.	Frank Edwards Warner.
Ezra Ripley Thayer.	

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Joseph Bangs Warner. | Albert Turner Whiting. |
| Charles Warren. | William Austin Whiting. |
| Edward Ross Warren. | William Whitman. |
| Henry Lee Jaques Warren. | David Rice Whitney. |
| John Warren. | James Lyman Whitney. |
| John Collins Warren. | George Clark Whittmore. |
| Joseph Warren. | Henry Whittmore. |
| Lucius Henry Warren. | Albert Rufus Whittier. |
| Nathan Warren. | George Wigglesworth. |
| William Fairfield Warren. | Arthur Walter Willard. |
| Winslow Warren. | Levi Lincoln Willett. |
| Walter Kendall Watkins. | William Lithgow Willey. |
| Horace Herbert Watson. | Charles Herbert Williams. |
| Winslow Charles Watson. | Edward Henry Williams. |
| Charles Goddard Weld. | George Frederick Williams. |
| Stephen Minot Weld. | Henry Dudley Williams. |
| Alfred Easton Wellington. | Joseph Williams. |
| Frederick Augustus Wellington. | Moses Williams. |
| Arthur Holbrook Wellman. | Robert Breck Williams. |
| Joshua Wyman Wellman. | John Boynton Wilson. |
| Barrett Wendell. | Albert Edward Winship. |
| David Brainard Weston. | Erving Winslow. |
| Alexander Strong Wheeler. | Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr. |
| Henry Wheeler. | Robert Mason Winthrop. |
| Horace Leslie Wheeler. | Roger Wolcott. |
| Andrew Cunningham
Wheelwright. | Samuel Huntington Wolcott. |
| Edmund March Wheelwright. | William Prescott Wolcott. |
| William Gleason Wheildon. | Stephen Foster Woodman. |
| Bradlee Whidden. | Henry Ernest Woods. |
| Renton Whidden. | Henry Frank Woods. |
| Stephen Hampden Whidden. | George Wellman Wright. |
| Edwin Augustus White. | |
| James Clarke White. | |
- Y.
- Edward James Young.

